BULLETIN OF
THE INSTITUTE OF
TRADITIONAL CULTURES
MADRAS

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1980

JANUARY TO JUNE

Special Number
Silver Jubilee year of the
Institute of Traditional Cultures, Madras and the
Post Centenary Silver Jubilee year of the University of
Madras (1982)

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FOREWORD

The Institute of Traditional Cultures located in the University of Madras since its inception in 1957 is traceable ultimately from a conference held at New Delhi in 1951 by UNESCO. This International Body discussed, among other questions, the impact of industrialisation on the traditional cultures of the peoples of the South East Asia. These peoples have in tha past experienced in a large measure similar beliefs, ideas, arts and cultural patterns, the influence of which have continued to mould their history and preserve their social systems.

The Director General of UNESCO at a meeting of the General Body in Delhi in 1956 to discuss the followup activities favoured the establishment in the University of Madras of an Institute for the study of the Traditional Cultures of South East Asia. The then Vice Chancellor of the University of Madras, Dr. A. L. Mudaliar welcomed this decision and accordingly the Institute was started on 1st March 1957 with the Vice Chancellor as its President.

The purpose of the Institute is primarily to function as a clearing house of knowledge and information on traditional culture in the South East Asian countries including India as a step towards mutual appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural values. The Institute has been holding seminars, lectures, symposia and art performances. The materials relating to these are gathered and published half yearly in the form of a Bulletin. It is having circulation both in India and abroad. The subjects cover a wide range of sociology, anthropology, philosophy, arts and literature.

I am happy to state that the University of Madras which has completed 125 years of useful service and is shortly to

celebrate its post centenary Silver Jubilee, is collaborating with the Institute that celebrates its Silver Jubilee.

The Institute had the benefit of being headed by two distinguished historians in the past Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri and Dr. K. K. Pillai and its present Director is Prof. P. Thirugnanasambandhan, a former chief Professor and educational administrator.

I am full of hope that the Institute will turn a new leaf on the occasion of its Silver Jubilee while continuing to render useful service in preserving the ancient values and fostering the cultural moorings of the peoples of South East Asia particularly in the present context of western civilisation that is making its impact felt as a consequence of the technological advancement that has been availed of in these countries.

M. SANTAPPA,
President
& Vice Chancellor,
Madras University.

Madras-5
Dated 19-5-1983

PREFACE

The Bulletin contains articles on traditions and cultures of South and South East Asia, besides articles on Tamil tradition and culture. The International system of diacritical marks has been adopted to the extent possible, in the Bulletin.

We are glad to provide our readers this *Special Number* to mark the *Silver Jubilee* of the Institute of Traditional Cultures and the Post centenary Silver Jubilee of the University of Madras with which this Institute is closely linked. The seminar papers on Mahakavi Bharathiar presented under the auspices of the Institute to commemorate his Centenary Celebration are published in this issue. We are also glad to include a paper on Thiru Vi. Kalyanasundaranar whose centenary was celebrated in 1982.

The Institute is grateful to all the scholars who have contributed articles, delivered lectures and led seminars on a variety of themes pertaining to traditional cultures which appear in this issue.

We are grateful to the Government of Tamil Nadu as well as the Government of India for the continuance of their financial assistance to the Institute and its activities.

The University of Madras contlnues to accommodate the Institute in its building, providing it with necessary amenities and bears the entire cost of the paper and printing of issues of the Bulletin. The Institute is grateful to the University for all the valuble help, which enables it to continue to carry on its activities.

The Institute is thankful to the Heads and staff members of the Departments of the University and Research scholars for their kind and hearty co-operation in the activities of the Institute.

We also thank our beloved President, Dr. M. Santappa, Vice Chancellor, University of Madras for the great interest evinced by him in the affairs of the Institute.

The Governing Body and the Executive committee of the Institute have also given us valuable assistance in running the Institute and they also deserve our thanks.

Madras,
16th May 1983.

P. THIRUGNANASAMBANDHAN,
Director.

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SOCIAL LIFE OF FOLK ARTISTS IN ANCIENT TAMIL NĀDU

K. SUBRAMANIAN
(Department of Tamil, K.G.S. Arts College, Srivaikuntam)

Introduction :

The aim of the paper is to attempt to reconstruct the social life of Folk Artists in Ancient Tamilnadu.

It is obvious that their social life cannot be reconstructed from purely literary sources. The origin of folk arts precedes the literary period by several millennia. Prehistoric, Preliterate man can be studied calling to our aid the knowledge of social sciences such as Ethnology, Social Anthropology, archaeology and historical linguistics. The evolutionary development of society is the field of study of most of these sciences. The most ancient strata of literature preserves certain relics from the creations of prehistoric man referring to their rituals and myths. Archaeology provides a few clues to reveal certain aspects of life of ancient peoples.

This paper attempts to investigate a few problems involved in the study of the social life of Folk artists in ancient Tamilnadu.

(1) What was the nature of the social formation in which the Folk arts first originated?

(2) What role did Folk Arts play in such a social formation?

(3) What are the stages of development of folk arts and in which of these stages of specialisation appeared 'division of labour' of the artists producing different branches of vocal arts, dance, music and literature?

(4) What were the themes of their arts in the Heroic Age, the early period of literate culture?

(5) What were their beliefs that they expressed in their songs and arts?

(6) How did the Folk Artists manage to ply their arts after the rise of literature in the chronological period corresponding to the rise of early Sangam Literature?

These inter-related problems are attempted to be tackled and solved in this paper.

I

It is universally agreed by all social scientists specialising in any of its branches that all civilisations had a tribal beginning. That is to say that Tamil civilisation had a tribal past. A few scholars of the history of our culture have pointed out this fact. Ramachandra Dikshitar, T. R. Sesha Iyengar, N. Subramanian have realised that prehistoric social life in Tamil country was essentially tribal.[1]

Tribal life in general has been studied in depth and width by ethnologists all over the world during the last hundred years. Their data have yielded generalisations of high value. S. Thompson, J. G. Frazer, B. Malinowski, Brown, Durkheim and a host of pioneers have probed the dark areas in human knowledge about primitive societies isolated from the main stream of civilisation and stagnating at the level of savagery and barbarism.

Nearer home South Indian tribes formed the subject of study of anthropologists starting with Thurston. Much attention has been concentrated on the Todas, the only pastoral civilisation existing in the world. Rivers and Emeneau have made prominent contributions to the study of their language and folk lore.

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1. Ramachandra Dikshitar V. R. *'Studies in Tamil Literature and History'* Madras 1936, p. 178; Sesha Iyengar T. R. *'Dravidian India'* Madras 1925, p. 173.
Subramaniam N. *'Sangham Polity'*, Bombay 1961, p. 247.

The knowledge of tribal societies has to be interpolated to the data of ancient tribal societies and inferences drawn by the comparative method. J. G. Frazer adopted this method with great success. Claude Levi Strauss is employing this method in the reconstruction of the social life of prehistoric societies.

In tribal societies, life was ritual and ritual was life. Ritual consisted of certain elements which has a universal international significance. These elements were the external reflection of subjective life of society.[2]

Prof. N. Vanamamalai says 'Rites and Rituals constitute the religion of prehistoric society![3] The oral parts of a ritual is 'commands' and 'Prayers'. One is magic and the other is worship. They are activities directly opposed to each other. In the first activity man commands Nature and in the second he bows before a power higher than himself believing that that power will grant his requests. Frazer classifies these spiritual activities of tribal man as Magical rites and Religious rites.[4]

The seed of later Arts lay in the ritual. The earliest rituals were a rehearsal of hunting activity. It spiritually reinforced the muscular activity of man in the hunt. Later drama grew and branched out of the ritual.[5]

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2. Raymond Firth: "*Elements of Social Organisation*" London 1956, pp. 224-25.

   "Rituals reflect and express structural arrangements of the society, and of component though divergent elements in it."

3. Vanamamalai N. 'Āraicci' *Materalism in ancient Tamil Literature* Oct. 1970, Palayamkottai, p. 14.

4. Frazer J. G. '*Golden Bough*' pp. 63–79.

5. Kosambi D. D. *The culture and civilisation of Ancient India in Historical outline*, p. 31.

   "These ceremonies are important to us because they contain the seeds of modern human cultural activities. The dance perhaps with some people imitating the animal, others the hunters, was ritual as well as practice for work in the field, a drill in the technique of the hunt, as it were. The ballet and the drama would develop from this after many millennia."

The ritual was an integrated activity which contained in itself in proto forms the arts of dancing, music and literature.[6] The oral part of the ritual expanded into magical chant, prophecy, command, propitiation, prayer and myths. These form the constituent genre of oral literature of tribal society. This coincides with the prehistoric culture of the Tamils. Rituals were dramatised as ritual dances, magical chants, prophesies and myths.

Myth performed the function of a cultural force which had the validity of a law of society. Rituals functioned to implement the law[7] to renew them and reinforce and strengthen them.[8] Rituals were collective activities performed to fulfil a social need[9] It resulted in strengthening the zeal of individuals to perform socially necessary labour. They were instrumental in energising the psychological activity of men activising the activity of his limbs.[10]

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6. (i) Debiprasad chattopadhyaya '*Lokāyata*' New Delhi 1959, p. 104.

   We have seen that in ancient society, speech, poetry and music are in a state of primordial complex, yet to be dissolved into the multiplicity of these collateral activities.

   (ii) Bhattacharya N. N. *Ancient Indian Rituals and their social contents* p. 23.

   'Poetry, music and dance were originally undifferentiated.

7. James E. O. *Compararive Religion*, London 1961, p. 101.

   'The role of myth is to consolidate and stabilize society; it fulfils its purposes as a cultural force and sociological charter.

8. Herskovits J. *Cultural Anthropology*, Oxford, x. IBH p. 230.

   'If mythology gives belief its charter, ritual is the instrument by which conviction is renewed and strengthened.

9. Frazer J. G. *Golden Bough*, p. 22.

   'Often the rites consist of an imitation of the effect which the people desire to produce.

10. Debiprasad chattopadhyaya *Lokāyata*, p. 94.

   'Magic rests on the principle that by creating the illusion that you control reality you can actually control it.

Ritual participation is indispensable for all members of the tribal society. Hence every one in the tribe is a performer, an artist. Whitehead says: 'Mankind became artists in ritual'.[11] Herbert Read commented on this observation: "It was a tremendous discovery".[12] Ralph, L. Beals says: "Everyone in a folk or non-literate society is an artist..."[13] "Art began as ritual or act of magic" says Joseph De. Chellette.[14] Plekhanov explains the origin of Art in the following words, "The Art of primitive man undifferentiated from the whole of his emotive and practical life was already ritualistic. It was ceremonial, communal and from the individual point of view unreflective".[15]

The above is illustrative of the overwhelming similarity of views among social scientists of the role of ritual in tribal society and that art is born of ritual and grows from it.

Though myths have not been recorded from ancient Tamil country, rituals, magic and sorcery mentioned in Sangam literature are found to be similar to those practised by ancient Greek tribals. The hill people of Tamil country used to perform rain making and rain inhibiting magical rituals. This is mentioned in a Puṟam poem. (143) "Malai Vān Koḷka!" ena Uyar Pali Tūuy Māriyāṉṟu, "Maḷai Mēṟku Uyarka" enak Kaḍavuḷ Pēṇiya Kuṟavar Mākkaḷ Peyal kaṇ Māṟiya Uvakaiyar". We are able to identify the magic aspect and the prayer aspect in their chants.

"May clouds cover the mountain" (a) shouting this they sprinkled sacrificial matter. The rain fell. 'May the cloud go up'. (b) they said. The rain stopped. Thus the Kuṟavar performed a magical rite and also chanted a prayer.

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11 & 12. Herbert Read, 'Art and society', p. 49.

13. Ralph L. Beals and Harry Hoijar *An Introduction to Anthropology*, p. 542.

14. Calverton V. F. (Ed.) *The making of Man*, 1931.
Joseph Dechelettee: *The Art of the Reindeer Epoch.*

15. Plekhanov *Art and Society*, p. 49.

The words of ritual chant 'a' and 'b' represent magical command. The sprinkling of sacrificial offerings represents propitiation to gods.

This is a stage in which magic is reinforced by prayer, These words 'a' and 'b' are relics of a past in which communal magic and prayer were utilised to fulful a social wish. It is a pity that a description of the ritual is not available from the poem. What did the Kuṛavar of the song do to bring down rain and stop rain?

Anthropology gives an answer to the question. Imitation of rain produces rain. Opposite activity stops rain from falling. J. G. Frazer has collected data about rain making and rain stopping magical ritual from all parts of the worlds.[16] He classifies all magical rituals into two kinds, Homeopathic magic and Contagious magic.

Koṛṛavai is the Goddess of the Eyiṉar tribe. They were inhabitants of the Pālai land, their means of livelihood mainly being dacoity. They held rituals in the belief that the roads would teem with travellers (Vaḷi Vaḷam) whom they could rob. 'Vēṭṭuva Vari'[17] is a song containing both aspects of later ritual - magic and worship.

The fisher folks performed a ritual before going out to sea. This is called the ritual of the 'fertility of the net'. (Valai Vaḷam). We can compare this ancient practice with that of Malinowski's Trobrianders' rituals.

In 'Vēṭṭuva Vari' the Eyiṉar sang and danced dramatising battles for cattle lifting. The tribes Vēṭṭuvar or Eyiṉar were professional dacoits.

Veṛiyāṭṭu is another ritual mentioned in Sangam classics. Dr. Vidyanandan has commented on it as, "A ceremonial dance that existed before the dawn of history".[18]

16. Frazer J. G. *Golden Bough*, pp. 82-101.
17. Cilappatikāram; Veṭṭuva vari.
18. Dr. Vidyanandan, 'Tamiḻar Cālpu', p. 118.

The worship of Korravai, the festival of Fisherfolk in Paṭṭinappālai, Vēlaṉ Veṟiyāṭṭu are all dances of possessed performers (Teyvam ēṟiya tēvarāḷaṉ).

The ritual objects excavated at Adhichanallur (1000 B.C.) point to a veṟiyāṭṭu by Vēlaṉ.

It was the belief of ancient Tamils that every illness, discomfort or misfortune could be cured or set right by Veṟiyāḍal.

In Veṟiyāṭṭu, the performers were Velaṉ, Kuṟava woman, Magician priest or priestess. They spoke for the whole society as its representatives. At this stage rituals were not performed communally; that is the whole tribe did not participate in the ritual as of old. This could be called 'white magic' which was performed for the general good of society. Sorcery or 'Black magic' is used to wreak harm on Individual. Frazer J. G. calls the performers temporary Gods. Here the religious aspect is freely mixed with pure magical aspect.

Ritual was a beneficial force to consolidate the unity of the tribe on the basis of its social values. It was an encouragement to economic activities of the tribe to help in gathering the natural resources for the common utilisation of all the members of the tribe. As Raymond Firth remarks, "they provide occasion for group assembly, and reaffirm social values. They stimulate economic productivity and condition the system of disbursement of resources. They allow individuals to handle social apparatus to advantage".[19]

The rituals, dances and songs are believed to stimulate the beneficient forces of Nature. All this is carried out in the belief that they help to produce the effect they desire to produce, the belief in imitative magic. The primitive peoples believed that to stimulate the forces of Nature man must himself imitate it. "Often rites consist in an imitation of the effect which the people desire to produce".[20]

19. Raymond First: *Elements of Social Organisation*, pp. 224–25.

20. Frazer J. G. *Golden Bough*, p. 22.

Magic rests on ignorance of knowledge of the cause. "It is an illusion that you control reality by imitating it"[21] But though illusory it is not futile. It changes man's subjective attitude to reality and so indirectly it changes reality.[22]

In ancient Tamil Nadu rituals like Veṟiyāṭṭu, Kuravai and Taḷū were quite common among the hill tribes. It had gone out of use in the more civilised societies of Marutam. So references to such rituals are rare but new rituals had taken the place of old. The tribal people performed in imitation of the effects which they desired to produce. In Hill areas, the people performed rituals accompanied by dances aiming at increasing game and natural fertility of the valleys. In marutam areas, the people (who were not united by a tribal organisation Manṟam) performed magical and ritual rites to increase crops, to win victory in war and of course the production of rain.

People .in a tribal level of civilisation in the prehistoric period could have no aesthetic consciousness for art, because everyone was a performer. You could not distinguish a performer from a passive onlooker as you do today. Ritual, dance and song were part of life to them. These objective activities were believed to be quite indispensable to meet the social needs of the community. These activities were not cognised as Art.

Some scholars have compared ancient Tamil dances to the group dances of the modern age. The artists of the present day are trained performers. Everyone has undergone training and practice for years. Their aim is to please the audience and no more.

The ritual dancer performs a social function unlike the modern artist who tries to please the aesthetic susceptiblities of his audience. The whole tribal community sings and dances in the interests of a better life for the tribe. Sankar Sen Gupta has this to say in his article on 'Some thoughts on Folk Song'. "Folk song is an art in which the average member of

21 & 22. Thompson G. 'Studies in Ancient Greek Society', p. 9

a group participates more generally than in the case with cultivated music or literature on the city".[23]

These ritual arts stimulated social labour, acted as a catalyser of labour activity and provided encouragement to collective artistic activity.

II

Engels has brilliantly explained the development of society from tribal origins to feudal kingdoms. His views were endorsed by Gordon Child and others. Improvements in the means of production caused a spurt in production of goods. Productive forces tended to change production relations in tribal societies. Tribes gave way to more advanced class societies in Greece, Babylonia and India. Data are not entirely lacking to infer this social change in Tamilnadu. If data provided by the most ancient stratum of Tamil literature is carefully analysed we can see that they do not contradict the theory of social development of Engels. Consecutive stages of development as traced by Engels are (1) Primitive communal (2) Slave and (3) Feudal. (2) and (3) are class societies that replaced (1), a preclass society.

Rituals had their beginning in ancient tribal societies. The most ancient mode of social formation was the hunting tribal community. Side by side existed agricultural-hunting tribal formations. The transitional stage was pastoral. This process is described by Thompson in his "Greek Society". The preclass tribal societies disintegrated owing to revolutionary changes in the technique of production. In the higher pastoral grade when agriculture was supplemented by stock raising or the higher agricultural grade when agriculture was supplemented by stock raising there was a revolutionary change in the field of production since surplus was produced".[24]

There existed tribal culture everywhere in the world, as tribal organisation was the initial formation of society. Tribal

23. Sankar Sen Gupta and Upadhyaya K. D. (Ed.) *Studies in Folk Culture*, 1964. Sankar Sen Gupta: *Some Thoughts on Folk Song*, p. 2.

24. Thompson G. '*Studies in Ancient Greek Society*'

formation disintegrated at a certain stage of its development. This process came to a model point at different chronological periods in different communities. The development and disintegration of Tamil tribal formation took place at a distant prehistoric time.

The herioc age hastened these changes. Heroic groups of people gained ascendency. They destroyed hereditary rights. They actively destroyed the tribal bonds. The hero-values were fostered. Individualism took the place of collectivism. Dr. Kailasapathy explains this change in the words: "As elsewhere, the politics of the Tamil Heroic age were marked by the ascendancy of an 'energetic military caste, whieh, torn by internecine conflicts of succession and inheritance, breaks loose from its tribal bonds into a career of violent, self assertive individualism"[25]

Small kingdoms and big kingdoms sprouted in Tamilnadu. There was a competition to expand landed possession and territories of occupation by landlords and kings. An army of serfs and an army of mercenary soldiers formed the back-bone of the ruling class. Productive forces developed enormously resulting in a tremendous increase in production. The distribution of the surplus necessitated a separtate class of merchants. Division of labour resulted and several professional castes appeared in society. Collective labour disappeared with destruction of collective living (Tribal life). Collectivism yielded place to individualism with the rise of private property. Society was divided into the ruling class and labouring class.

In tribal society, as we have previously noted, art was collective. Every member of the tribe participated in (artistic) ritualistic activity. Now that collectivity no more existed, individualism had replaced it in ritual. Arts also began to show respect for individual talent. Collective ritual Arts divided itself into dance, song, instrumental music and Kottu. Division of labour invaded the field of arts too. Myths began to die.

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25. Kailasapathy. *Tamil Heroic Poetry* p. 73

The artists formed themselves into groups (Curram) of pāṇar Porunar Viraliyar, Kūttar. These artists were illiterate and communicated with their audience orally. They sang and danced to rural and urban audiences. The tribal chief who had been transformed into vassals of the King received them and enjoyed their performances. They were rewarded with choice food, clothes, elephants and cars (tērs). They were illiterate, they excelled in dance and song. They were nomadic and went from one chieftain to the other exhibiting their talents.[26] They had a role to play in transforming tribal mode of life into the feudal mode.

They sang and daneed to themes to uphold existing and changing values. They did not sing in opposition to the ruling kings except when their reward fell short of their expectation!

A few groups went to the war front with the army.[27] Mention is made in Puram of tuḍiyar,[28] Viraliar,[29] Pāḍini,[30] Porunar, Kūttar.[31]

To the sound of tuḍi, the kings marched to the front.[32] In all 'Vetci' skirmishes the enemies were challenged to battle by the tuḍiyar. Muracu a large drum bearing blood stain was carried to the front. The drum beats of muracu called the soldiers to battle.[33]

An ancient ritual performed before a battle began, is described in Patirruppattu. A magician chanted mantras in a loud and angry voice. Hearing his voice the soldiers were

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26. Cirupāṇārruppaḍai : 1.38-9.
Perumpāṇārruppaḍai I. 18 & 21.
Puram : 69 & 103
27. Narriṇai 77.
28. Puram 79.
29. *Ibid.* 54.
30. *Ibid.* 11.
31. *Ibid.* 308.
32. *Ibid.* 79.
33. *Ibid.* 369.

roused to a state of anger. Even the Pёys (ghosts) were afraid to touch the morsel of food held in his hand.[34]

In the battle field the sound of drums mingled with the war songs of Pāṇar. They voiced a magical chant, "Victory in the battle field".[35]

After victory was won, the king distributed rewards to the singers and drummers. They were treated to a feast at the battle field. This was called uṇḍāṭṭu.[36]

The artists held performances in villages[37] and towns[38] (Ūrūr and Pērūr). They sang and danced in broad streets.[39] They participated in festivals held in Cēris[40] playing their instruments. There were festival spots[41] where crowds gathered to listen to their songs and witness their dances (kaḷam = spots), Viṟaliyar and Kūttar carried their mattaḷams.[42] These occasions were called festivals of dance (Āḍiyal Viḷavu)[43] Viṟaliyar danced in lamp light at night.[44] The heroes of battle danced to the rhythm of drums sounded by Pāṇar.[45] People were entertained by the music played on instruments by the Viṟaliyar.[46] Food was distributed on such festive occasions to the artists who relished it.[47] They were presented with cows, sheep and gold lotuses by the king and the people.[48] They went to bed after

34. Patiṟṟuppattu, 30.
35. Puṟam: 369.
36. -do- 43 & 390, Patiṟṟuppattu, 45.
37. Murukāṟṟuppaḍai: l. 220
38. Kuṟuntokai: 223.
39. Maturaikkānci: l:98 & 327-328.
Paṭṭiṉappālai, l:252.
40. Maturaikkāñci: l:619.
41. Kuriñjippāṭṭu: l:191-2
42. Akam: 189.
43. Naṟṟiṇai: 60 & 90.
44. Patiṟṟuppattu: 47.
45. -do- 56.
46. Paṭṭiṉappālai l:155-60.
47. Porunarāṟṟuppaḍai: l 1-3.
48. Maturaikkāñci Commentary for l: 99-102.

mid night[49] when the revelries came to an end. The artists used to return to their native villages or towns whenever a religious festival took place there.[50]

Such is the picture of life of the ancient folk artists we are able to glean from Sangam Anthologies.

III

The content of the songs of the Pāṇar was war and love. These songs were orally communicated since the singers and the people who listened to them were illiterate. Hence their songs must have had the characteristics of oral compositions or folk songs. The texts of these songs and ballads have been lost completely. We can learn their nature from Bowra's generalised description in his 'Heroic Poetry'. It will not be wrong to make the hypothesis that since all heroic poetry found its birth in identical social milieu their nature will be closely similar.

A characteristic of tribal poetry is a collective expression of social consciousness. It is the expression of magico-ritualistic frame of mind. It is not designed to please the audience, for the performer and audience participate in the experience. These qualities of ritual magical poetry is still retained in Folk poetry of ancient times, and even in magical and prayer songs of the folks.

Another characteristic of oral poetry is to think in formulae. (A.B.Loyd). The singers utilise certain common formulae to narrate incidents common in all folk ballads. Since the artist is illiterate he needs a mnemonic device to remind himself the sequenee of events in a story. There are a few stable themes such as birth, barrenness, the development of a foetus in the womb, the hero leaving for a foreign country, battle with enemies etc. These are narrated making use of repetitive formulae.

49. -do- 1:628.

50. Puram: 381 & Akam 141.

The influence of this method of narration is noticed in literary poems of the type Āṟṟuppaḍai. There are repetitive themes narrated making use of slightly varying formulae. The tradition finds its grammatical rules in Tolkāppiyam. The characters in an Āṟṟuppaḍai are Folk artists Pāṇar, Porunar, Viṟaliyar, Kūttar. The literate poet is not mentioned in the rule. Of course the poet composes the Āṟṟuppaḍai song, he imagines himself as one belonging to the groups of folk artists and relates his experienees on the way to reach his patron and how he was treated by him. The folk life has been adopted as a poetic tradition by the literate poets who were attached to the courts rather than to the folks.

The constant themes of this genre are:

1. King welcoming the folk artists
2. Presenting them with new clothes
3. Treating them to feasts
4. The king serving them drinks.
5. Rewarding them with gold flowers, elephant calfs, cows and sheep.
6. Parting scences.

These thematic elements can be considered formulae in the construction of an Āṟṟuppaḍai song.

IV

What type of songs did they sing? Though we are unable to get the text of a folk song extant in so distant a past, their names could be known from literature.

They sang varippāḍal and danced to its musical rhythm. Cilappatikāram has a few varippāḍal extant in its time. They could be poetic imitation of the folk songs composed and sung by folk artists. It was a song that was sung while travelling along a road. The theme is to praise the 'land of birth' and

the trade or profession of that land.[51] Both the nature of the land and profession could be different in five different types of land.

Kuravai is a constituent element of vari. Its theme is defined as victory and love.[52]

Paṇṇatti is a genre of folk song containing a dialogue.

Other types of folk song mentioned in literature are Vaḷḷai, Ūnjal, Ēr Kaḷappāṭṭu. Perhaps all these types were labour songs, corresponding to 'husking songs', 'Swing songs' and 'harvest songs' in modern folk poetry. More information about the nature of these songs is not available from either literature or from grammar of the ancient period.

Besides the types known to literature they always made innovations in both theme and form.

The nomadic groups of artists were accompanied by apprentices (Iḷaiñar) who were trained to become folk artists.[53] They sang in accompaniment and acted small roles and gained experience in singing and acting.

V

Dr. Kailasapathy has taken the view that the poems of Sangam age are heroic songs and oral songs.[54]

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51. "vari eṉappaḍuvatu Vakukkum Kālai
Piṟanta nilamum ciṟanta toḻilum
Aṟiyak Kūṟi Āṟṟuḷi Vaḷaṅkal"
Cilappatikāram : Araṅgēṟṟuk Kāthai : 1.21. Commentary.

52. -do- -do- 1:12
"Kuravai eṉpatu Kūṟuṅkālai
ceytōr ceyta Kāmamum Piṟavum
Eyta Uraikkum iyalpiṟṟu eṉpa."

53. Patiṟṟuppattu : 41.
Puṟam : 139 & 389.
Ciṟupāṇāṟṟuppaḍai : 32-3
Porunarāṟṟuppaḍai : 100.
Kuṟuntokai : 33.

54. Dr. K. Kailasapathy *Tamil Heroic Poetry*, p. 94,
'But all evidences point to the fact that they were oral bards. In

But Dr. U. V. Swaminatha Iyer is of the opposite view. He says that the poets who had command of the ability of writing, imagined themselves as folk artists and wrote about their experiences. He calls this ability of the poet to transform himself temporarily into an illiterate folk artist as 'Kavi Matam'.[55]

I am inclined to agree with the latter view. I discern the essential difference between a folk song and a literary poem. Can we call the pastoral poems of Milton as folk songs because they are said to be sung by pastoral folks? Certainly L allegro and Ilpensero are not folk songs though the imagery of pastoral life is used throughout the poem. The technique of make belief is used by the poet in writing about the past.

Further, oral songs are anonymous. From Puṟam, Akam and other sangam anthologies the names of the poets are known.

Written literature grew out of oral songs. So it bears the birthmark of oral songs. But they trod a different road, that of reflection and writing. Since certain vestiges of folk songs are found in written literature they cannot be called oral literature.

In the original level, Folk songs are collective, anonymous and magical. But poetry is a conscious, reflective and imaginative written art. Innovativeness of Folk song is completely absent in written poetry. Born of folk song, poetry has travelled far away from it, so that we cannot mistake one for the other.

Yet Kailasapathy thinks all written poetry of the Sangam age is oral poetry. I do not agree with him for the foregoing reasons.

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fact, nowhere in the texts of the extant poems is writing mentioned in the context of the making of a poem or song.

55. Dr. U. V. Swaminatha Iyer (Ed) *Puṟanāṉūṟu* 1935, *History of Poets* on Auvaiyār p. 13.

VI

The social life of folk artists of the Pre Sangam age can be partially reconstructed from the data available from Sangam poetry. Certain relics and vestiges of the past are preserved in Sangam poems. Our ancient poets have also partially reconstructed the past and had portrayed them in their poems.

The folk artists eked out their living in three different ways. They were (1) Begging at the doors of land owners and peasants at night[56] (2) Receiving presents[57] (3) Receiving land grants from kings.[58] Any how they lived precariously on the border line of poverty. They either gathered food by begging or by letting out the land for rent. They had to work for wages while they had no income from their artistic activities. They engaged themselves in fishing,[59] making baskets from palmyrah leaves[60] and selling them in the markets while they were not engaged in exhibiting their artistic skill.

The folk artists performed for the rich as well as the poor. The poor rewarded them with food and the rich with clothing and other needs of life. The king presented them with costly presents which they exchanged for goods necessary for their living. Perhaps there was no payment in money. Perhaps money economy had not come into vogue then. The folk artists praised those who richly rewarded them and spoke ill of those who were sparing in their gifts. Mostly they were supported by the peasants, labouring people and the rural rich. Once in a while they received a fat cow for a feast from the king or

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56. Puram: 260, 375, 385, 393.
57. *Ibid*: 149, 203, 375.
58. *Ibid*: 260.
59. Akam: 126, 196, 216.
    Aiṅkuru nūru: 48, 111.
    Puram: 348.
    Kuruntokai: 169.
    Maturaikkāñci: 298-99.
    Perumpāṇārruppaḍai: 284.
60. Puram: 370 & 375.

nobles. For the most part of the year they led a hand to mouth existence.

They sang and danced during the harvest season.[61] They sang in praise of the labour of the working people. They went with armies of kings when they were on expeditions of Veṭci.[62]

People were friendly with them and called them in affectionate terms with words of intimate relationship.[63] They welcomed them in their homes and treated them kindly. When they left them the rural people gave them sandal, ahil, ivory, fish, and paddy as gifts.[64]

In every village there was a common place called manṟam. All guests were welcomed there. They stayed in the manṟam when they arrived in a village.[65] They hung their musical instruments on the boughs of branches of trees which stood in the manṟam.[66] They went to see the chief or king, the next day.

The chief received them warmly. Such meetings were called Nāḷirukkai. These were occassions for their performing song and dance. In a few villages the people and the chief danced with the artists. In other villages they were merely spectators. The artists left after a few days carrying their instruments and the gifts.

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61 Malaipaḍukadām : 469–70.
Akam : 30.

62. Puṟam : 71, 368, 373.

63. Cirupāṇāṟṟuppaḍai : 190–192.
Malaipaḍukaḍām : 185.
Puṟam : 196.

64. Malaipaḍukaḍām : 170–88
Puṟam : 374.
Akam : 30.

65. Puṟam : 135, 375, 390.
Malaipaḍukaḍām : 1:492.
Patiṟṟuppattu : 41 & 43.

66. Puṟam : 89.

After class differences became stable, the kings and the rich began to bestow their favours on literate poets. The folk artists lost patronage of the royal courts. But when there were no kings but only chiefs in tribal societies they treated folk artists well and shared the goods they possessed with them. A few kings were still generous and others were not.

Occasionally they received a warm welcome from kings and when they left they were loaded with rich presents. The artists were self conscious and jealously guarded their self respect. Rich presents should have pleased them since they were rare. When even food and clothes were a luxury to them how could they have felt when a silk garment or elephant was presented to them by a king or a chief? On such occasions they wondered, whether they were not dreaming or whether they were in a different world.

Naturally they spoke well of generous donors and ill of miserly people.[67] Artists who lived on the support of the people stayed as people's artists. Those who sought the support of kings and succeeded in gaining it became Court-artists. But their number was very small. Mostly folk arts remained with the people succoured and nourished by them. There is no evidence that there were village theatres. But during the age we are considering, there were manṟam and āḍukaḷams in villages and towns.

In the period of rise of kingdoms and empires and the degeneration of tribal organisations the folk artists lost favour in kingly courts. Their life became miserable. In their misery they fancied that the past in which their ancestors lived was a 'golden age' of folk arts.[68] It was then, they were supported by tribal communities and treated with respect. When collectivism disintegrated and class societies emerged and stabilised themselves their place was among the oppressed people.

67. *Ibid.* 119, 127, 137, 154, 177, 197.

68. *Ibid.* 165.

As men were divided into classes, the artists also found their place among the working masses, doing part time jobs to augment their income just to be able to carry on their artistic activities. Those artists who gained knowledge of writing and were good versifiers were drawn to the courts. They were received well by kings who made use of their service in their political struggle with their peers.

These artists left the class of their birth to join the other which provided them opportunities for a better life. Their mastery of the written word that enabled them to describe the past, present and future distinguished them as poets and prophets. Here we see clearly that the poet and seer merged in a single person. They were believed to have divine power, for the mastery over the written word was considered a rare gift of God. Kings believed that a group of such masters of the written word attached to his court was a proud accretion to his glory.

The oral traditions were transferred into written traditions. Much of the original content was lost. The court poetry absorbed whatever was useful to it in folk tradition.

The poets now supported a different class with different interests. Still there were a large section of folk artists living and functioning among the people. Poets detested folk artists and thought their creations as low and vulgar. They called folk artists 'men of low caste', Pulaiyar. Thus two distinct classes of artists arose out of the undivided group of artists which existed in pre class society.

The ruling class needed a group of poets and philosophers to give vent to their ideas of life and general interests. The group of court poets, wise men, law makers, in brief, the class intellectuals served the interests of the ruling class.

The rural artists continued the old collective tradition in the rural parts, where people were mostly illiterate. While the poets were highly valued by kings, the folk artists were cold shouldered by them. It was because their social function was

not in the interests of the ruling class. Their art served the people. It strengthened the unity of the rural masses which sometimes went against the interests of the ruling class. So they did not wish to encourage their activity.

VII

In this section we shall briefly notice the beliefs and religion of Folk artists as can be gleaned from the Sangam corpus.

We have already seen that the tribal people danced and sang on the occasion of ritual ceremonies. Veṛiyāṭṭu, tuṇaṅgai, Kuravai were types of dances they performed. These dances were collective with the participation of the whole group.

In the heroic age, hero worship was the dominant form of religion. Heroes who fell in veṭci and karantai battles and wars with foreign kingdoms were deified as *naḍukal*, the hero-stones, and worshipped by the people. The belief underlying this form of spiritual activity was that the spirits of the dead visited the hero-stone spots temporarily and inspired the people who worshipped them. The ceremonies were attended by dance and song. The hero-stones were symbols which stood for a spirit that gave benediction of victory over the enemies of the group.[69]

The folk artists on passing the roads marked by hero stones, stopped wherever they saw them. They sang and danced to receive the blessings of the spirits which visited them whenever the artists sang and danced. They descended on the dedicated stone and gave it power to grant the wishes of the worshippers. The spirits helped them on their way, removed their weariness and filled their minds with a new zeal.

Besides spirit worship, the artists believed in gods residing in a pillar (Kantu).[70] How these gods were different from spirits of the dead who fell in battle is not clear.

69. N. Vānamāmalai : *Hero stones and beliefs* Ārāycci, 13 Oct 1973, p. 15.

70. Naṛriṇai, 189.

Snake worship also existed among them. The women artists clasped their hands and prayed to the snakes in the forests.[71] Perhaps they also held the universal belief that snakes were bearers of fertility.

They prayed to the Forest god to protect them from dangers from wild animals.[72] The artists were not skilled in weaponry as can be seen from the articles they carried. There were no weapons in the luggage they carried on their journey.

The artists believed that gods resided in every one of their musical instruments.[73] There are many references to the worship of instruments in the Sangam corpus. The belief that gods were present in their instruments is due to their function of providing food to them. This belief is common to all ancient civilisations, Greeks, Romans and ancient Aryans.

Before playing on their instruments the artists touched them and made homage to them.[74] This practice can be noticed even in modern performances when the artists touch and make a sign of obeisance to the instrument on which they play. They invariably invoked the Gods to guide them in their performance. It is interesting to note that all artisans worship their tools on 'Āyudha Pūjā' day.

VIII

In the heroic age their function was not what it was in tribal society. They encouraged the soldiers to fight and believe in victory. Through their songs and dances they produced a subjective craze for victory and justice in their cause. They encouraged the belief that death is after all liberation from the bonds of wordly misery. To die fighting was glorious death.

71. Malaipaḍukaḍām : 198-201.
72. Porunarāṟṟuppaḍai 1:52.
73. Puṟam : 302; 399; 52; 94; 102 commentary.
    Malaipaḍukaḍām : 536-538.
    Porunarāṟṟuppaḍai 1:20 commentary.
    Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaḍai 1:462-63.
74. Malaipaḍukaḍām : 536-38.

It was a noble death to die at the battle front than die on sick bed. Those who were fortunate to die in battle will have a happy and glorious life after death in hero's paradise (Uyarntōr Ulakam).[75] They had a legitimate share in the spoils of victory and share in the booty that success brought to the conquering army.

This function in war became less and less as kingdoms and empires consolidated their power. The poets wrote epics on battles and panegyrics over victories and they were memorised and sung not at the battle front but when victory celebrations took place inside the palaces.

Still folk artists performed the function of entertaining the rural folks with ballads from their repertoire singing of love and heroism of folk heroes and now and then singing about kings and chiefs who won victories for the people over invaders or tyrants.

Conclusions:

We may now arrive at a few conclusions from what has been said before.

(1) The history of Folk art and folk artists had its beginning in the period corresponding to the stabilisation of tribal societies in Tamilnadu. In the ritual practices dance and song flourished. Folk art cannot be considered art in the modern sense of the word. But it was an art because it was illusion causing a change in reality. A dance does not produce better crops, but puts the farmer in a frame of mind psychologically to labour with zeal, so that he works harder to produce more. The function of art is indirect.

One of the effects of distintegration and destruction of tribes was the division of labour among artists. Dance separated from song and chant separated from dance and the different types of art combined to produce a performance. But the different types of art had a certain autonomy in development.

75. Puram: 174 & 213.

Song developed into ballad and epic, chant developed into dialogue and play and dance developed into an individual art in class society.

Division of labour gradually produced a professional division among artists such as composers, singers, dancers, actors and instrumentalists. This division was beneficial to the development of different genres of art. From collectivity we pass on to a stage of individual creativity.

The content of ancient folk art was love and war. They sang and danced to rural and also to royal audiences. It is astonishing how in an age when letters were not known the folk artists could remember many items of their repertoire. A. B. Loyd in his 'Singer of tales' has suggested a mnemonic device the artists must have employed to recall all the lines he had to communicate to his audience. This is called formulaic theory.

Folk artists led a precarious life by (1) begging (2) receiving presents occasionally and (3) from the income of a royal grant. Modes 1 & 2 were more common than 3, for royal favour rarely reaches the rural bard or dancer who can never reach the town unless a troupe is organised to go on tour.

Their function in the battle field was to propagate a few beliefs which fortified the soldiers against fear of death with promises of a happy life in a chosen world.

This function became obsolete because it was slowly taken over by the poets. Written word and memorising it became new methods of propaganda. So the last links between the group of folk artists and the ruling class were snapped. Folk artists lived with the folks and sang and danced amidst them.

The social function of the folk artist in the rural life can be summed up as follows:

1. To entertain the folks.
2. To educate the young in folk tradition.

3. To create an attitude of veneration to folk heroes.
4. To induce a feeling of veneration for the heroes of elite origin who had died fighting for the freedom of their native land.
5. To preserve and circulate songs which reduce feeling of weariness in labour.
6. To circulate folk wisdom through proverbs. The narration of a ballad is interspersed with proverbs.
7. To instil feelings of social solidarity among rural masses and prepare them for social action.

INTERNATIONAL OUTLOOK OF POET SUBRAMANIA BHARATI

Prof. Dr. K. MEENAKSHISUNDARAM,
Joint Director of Collegiate Education, Madras.

Poet Subramania Bharati (1882-1921) has been raised to the status of a national poet soon after India achieved her Independence. The Government of India have honoured his memory by releasing a memorial postage stamp. During the six decades since his untimely and unfortunate death in 1921, his works—his poetic and spiritual legacy—have spread to several parts of the world. His songs have been translated into several foreign languages such as English, French, German, Russian and the Czech, besides being translated into many of our Indian languages. We in India celebrate the year 1982 as the Birth Centenary of Poet Subramania Bharati in that he lived in India, struggled politicaily for the achievement of her independence and strove poetically to educate, enthuse and involve the masses in the struggle for freedom. Thus in grateful remembrance of the services of the poet to the cause of Tamil language and literature in special, and to that of our political freedom in general we celebrate his centenary. But why should foreign nations like the USSR, Sri Lanka and so on choose to celebrate his centenary in 1982? What are the traits of his poetic personality that have endeared the people of these nations? How much international in outlook are his poetic aspirations and ideals?

It has been our literary experience that great poets have recorded both the achievements and aspirations of their age. Whereas the achievements would have been suggested by the concrete events in the form of social, political and cultural attainments both ancient and contemporary, the aspirations have in all probability been suggested by the poet's powers of intuitive perception and visionary imagination. In other words, if

the achievements were suggested by the society, the aspirations were the results of the altruistic reaction of the poetic personality to those achievements. As such, if the achievements attest to the artistic abilities of the poet, the aspirations reveal the depth of the poet's imaginative participation with the Unconscious—the Universal Mind. While the artistic abilities of the poet identify him with his own culture, his imaginative vision identifies him with humanity at large. Recognition of a poet as one of universal appeal depends upon the degree of such poetie vision. If Subramania Bharati is being hailed as a poet of human uplift even beyond his country, clime and creed, it is because of his poetic vision.

Like any other intellectual of his age sensitive to the ignoble existence of the people of India under foreign yoke, Bharati also felt impelled to join the stream of patriotic resurgence. A poet as he was in temper and spirit, Bharati sang of the glory of the literary and social culture of the Tamils in special and of India in general. This he did to dispel from the minds of the people their fear and utter hopelessness and a kind of moral stupor in which they were steeped. He made them feel great in terms of their rich traditions, political and cultural as well. His patriotic songs which constitute a sizable bulk of his works have thus claimed him the honour of a National Poet. The inner core of all his songs is the spirit of freedom which was his very breath. This spirit of Nationalism in his songs is so alive and unmistakable that it does not fail to invoke the same spirit even in translations, as it is borne out from the words of a non-Tamilian, Navarathna Rama Rao :

> ....His mother tongue is no doubt Tamil but his motherland is Bharati. He is most truly a national poet of India. His heart is a temple, dedicated to the motherland in love and adoration. It aches for her suffering and humiliation and is only sustained by a living faith in her future.

The abject misery of his nation and her people economically and socially, their callous indifference to their ancient glory and their present ignominy as a nation and above all their utter loss of self-confidence in their ability to rise from such a state of ignoble complacence, not only compelled his compassion for his brethren but also broadened his concept of freedom so as to embrace the whole of human race. His deep love of his nation's freedom widened his interest in world politics and in understanding the historical and cultural backgrounds of the nations of the world. As a journalist he has discussed the problem of political freedom of many a nation in comparison with that of India. Discussing the political situation in Ireland for example, Bharati wrote in Swadesamitran:

'We, Indians, would like to stress this point to Mr. Lloyd George: you have been repressing the spirit of freedom of Ireland for many centuries by raising war again and again. Ireland is a small country. In fact, even now Ireland could be subdued in war by England. But because of the great force of dharma throughout the world, it has become impossible for England to deny Ireland her freedom.

He exultantly congratulates Belgium on her shaking off the foreign yoke. He praises with pride the passionate vow of Mazzini, the Italian philosopher and gives in Tamil a kind of glowing tribute. He was thus equally concerned with the freedom of all nations and was eager to fight slavery in any form in any part of the world. He was very much in love with the idea of a world republic-an internationalism that aims at equality among all human beings. That is why his songs of nationalism are replete with the glory of human freedom and global democracy. It is in such a spirit of universal freedom that Bharati sings:

Equality on earth
    and Fraternity
and Liberty—these be
    the gifts Divine

Food for all humanity
living on the earth:
O Drum: Sound Unity,
and love's triumph:
Decree prosperity
for all upon earth!

(Prema Nandakumar, Bharati MIL, Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, pp. 69–70)

It is because of such global concept of freedom that Bharati rejoices over the fall of the Tsar's rule in Russia and over the freedom of the Russian people:

The Mighty Tsar, as the Himalayas, has fallen...
A law to uplift the life of the common man,
Now are there no bonds of slavery,
No slaves exist now.

Bharati's ideal of universal freedom is not in relation to politics alone; it includes freedom of worship, emancipation of women, freedom from poverty, from fear and ultimately freedom from anything that is unrighteous. His devotional songs include hymns on the Gods of Hinduism such as Muruga, Parāsakthi, Vināyagar etc., Jesus Christ and Allah, the Great. His "Putiya Āthiccūḍi" begins with such a concept of global religion. He hails the Spirit of the Universe as the Father of the universe, the whole of our human race as His children and this world of ours as the vast ocean of happiness. The underlying note of religious freedom and tolerance in such a concept of human religion is quite unmistakable.

In regard to the concept of Women's freedom also it is Bharati who sounded the clarion call first in the South and it is also Bharati who championed the cause of women's freedom even beyond the frontier of his country. The finest example of this can be seen in his hymnal praise to Sister Nivedita whom he hails as 'Mother', Temple of love, Sun dispelling his soul's darkness, Rain to famished people and parched lands, and as the divine spark of Truth. It is his deep interest in the

emancipation of women all over the world that makes him praise the lands like Russia where they were given due freedom and respectable position, plead for such freedom for the women of South Africa, passionately sympathise with the Indian womenfolk in the plantations of Fiji Islands.

Another aspect of Bharati's poetic personality that compels our attention is his open heartedness virtually free from the sin of pride and envy in praising, appreciating, welcoming ideas or actions that are beneficial to humanity or which partake of greatness in any area of human pursuit. It is such going out of his self's shell in appreciation of the good and the virtuous that has enabled him to praise poets of his own age like Rabindranath Tagore, alien poets like Walt Whitman, John Keats, P. B. Shelley and a Japanese Poet, artists like Ravi Varma and above all his laudatory poetic welcome to the Prince of Wales—a representative of the British Empire against whose tyranny he has been fighting tooth and nail. His poem "Pakaivanuk karuḷvāy naṉṉeñcē" (shower grace, my heart, on your enemies) is the highest expression of Bharati's altruistic temperament. Bharati's poetic personality is thus shaped by an eclectic process of psychic assimiliation of all that is best and beneficial for all mankind. Even in journalistic writings, Bharati's love of humanity in general can be seen. In his letter to "The Hindu", September 3, 1914, Bharati says :

'We are lovers of humanity and servants of God, the children of Righteousness and the peace that endures for ever'.

It is no wonder therefore that his cosmopolitan outlook in the fields of politics, religion, social reforms and aesthetics has attracted the well-deserved encomium from a person no less than Sarojini Devi who has said :

'He is entitled by his genius and his work to rank among those who have transcended all limitations of race, language and continent and have become the universal possession of mankind'.

THIRUVARUR V. KALYANASUNDARANAR

BY

Dr. A. NAGALINGAM, MA., PH.D.,
Assistant Professor of Tamil,
D. R. B. C. C. C. Hindu College, Pattabiram,
Madras-600 0072.

Introduction:

Many people strove for the development of Tamil language and literature in Tamil Nad. One among them was Tiruvarur Viruthachala Kalyanasundaram, popularly known as Tiru. Vi. Ka. It is proposed to deal here with his life and achievements in varied fields during the first half of this century. To quote the words of Dr. M. Varadarajan, former Vice Chancellor, Madurai Kamaraj University, a contemporary of Tiru. Vi. Ka.

"Tiru. Vi. Ka. toiled without any rest and wrote for human uplift night and day. He delivered speeches in every nook and corner of the country. He presided over many conferences. He received politely whoever met him and took keen interest in them. He remembered them throughout. With his innate affection and fondness he drew masses towards him. He spent his valuable time for the uplift of each and every one and also of a number of institutions. He never misused his influence on others for his own benefit. But he sustained loss on so many occasions for the uplift of others. He suffered to bring happiness for others."

Childhood:

Tiru. Vi. Ka. was born on 26th August 1883 at Tullam, a small village in Saidapet Taluk, Chengalpattu District. He was the sixth child among the eight to his father through his second wife. His parents were Virutthachala Mudaliar and Chinnammal.

Till his seventh year, he spent his childhood in the village. He had his primary education from his father who was a rice

merchant, contractor, grocer and also a composer of musical songs. The family was shifted from Tullam to Royapettai, Madras to better their livelihood.

School Education :

Tiru. Vi. Ka. and his brother Ulaganathar continued their studies in Madras. When Tiru. Vi. Ka. was studying in Wesley College, Royapettai from IV class up to VI Form, he proved his proficiency in studies by scoring high marks in the class. He moved closely with the teachers. Even the head of the institution was attracted by his virtuous qualities and treated him affectionately. He acquired greater knowledge and virtues by his close association with his masters.

Association with Spiritual Master :

When he was studying in the V Form one Mr. Kadirvel Pillai of Jaffna was his Tamil Tutor. Mr. Pillai was a staunch Saivite. He was noted for his eloquence, spiritual knowlege and debating skill. In the various parts of the city of Madras he gave lectures on Saivism. He held that other religions, namely Vaishṇavism, Buddhism and Vedanta were not on par with Saivism. Before he took up his job as a Tamil Tutor at Wesley College, young Tiru. Vi. Ka. heard Mr. Pillai's speech at Choolai, Madras during December 1901. It was then that he was attracted by Pillai's personality, his oratory, knowledge of several religions, literary talents etc. It was mere chance that made Pillai his tutor in the same college where Tiru. Vi. Ka. studied. Tiru. Vi. Ka's school education was bright and his relationship with the teachers good and smooth till he developed close contact with Mr. Pillai. After the arrival of Mr. Pillai, his interest in studies waned. But it increased his love for mother tongue and developed his search for spirituality.

Though he lost interest in school education he never failed to improve his knowledge in various fields. Under the able guidance of his Tamil Tutor he travelled to several places to understand the teachings of other religions.

Dissent with Arutpā :

When the Selection Examination came Tiru. Vi. Ka. found himself in a dilemma. Mr. Pillai held the view that the Twelve *Thirumuṟais* in Śaiva religion are the only works that deserve to be called sacred namely Aruṭpā. Mr. Pillai, like his guru Arumuga Nāvalar, did not consider the later Śaiva works as sacred especially Saint Rāmalinga's Tiru Aruṭpā. That view was reiterated after 30 years by Nāvalar's follower, Mr. Pillai in Madras. Young Tiru. Vi. Ka. not knowing the real merit of Rāmalinga Swami attacked his work and his followers on the platforms in support of his tutor.

End of School Education :

So the opponents of Mr. Pillai registered a case against him and young Tiru. Vi. Ka. was cited as a witness. As a witness, he had to go to the court and record his views. Destiny played its part. The Selection Examinations were going on. He was in a confused state of mind as to whether he should write the examinations or attend the court. He finally decided to support his tutor and attended the court. He could not write two or three examinations due to this mental disturbance.

Tiru. Vi. Ka. failed in the examination. The Assistant Headmaster and other teachers who were interested in him tried their best out of compassion to permit him to take the public examination. But the Headmaster did not agree. He was compelled to study one more year in the same class. But Tiru. Vi. Ka. was reluctant. Thus his school career came to an end.

Demise of his Master :

After this episode he studied prosody and Periyapurāṇam under Mr. Pillai who was very fond of his dearest student. He advised him to render the Periya Purāṇam (which depicts the life history of 63 devotees of Lord Śiva) in prose. On the advice of his teacher he wrote the life histories of the Nāyanmārs in prose with short notes to Periya Purāṇam. After

25 years, in 1934 he revised it adding more critical notes and it was written in a refined style.

Later Mr. Pillai went to Coonoor in Nilgiris District. Tiru. Vi. Ka. wrote letters in poetic form and the teacher also replied in the same manner. The affection of Tiru. Vi. Ka. for his master is well portrayed in one of his poems addressed to him. After some months Mr. Pillai died at Coonoor due to illness. Tiru. Vi. Ka. mourned the death of his beloved tutor deeply. At this moment the works of Saint Kumaraguruparar of 17th century and Saint Pāmban Swami of this century, Chidambara Cheyyuḷ - Kōvai and Tiru Alangal Tiraṭṭu respectively proved a solace to him. Even after his teacher's demise, Tiru. Vi. Ka's thirst for more knowledge continued unabated.

Studies under various experts :

Now he was invited by Mahā Vidwān Thaṇikāchala Mudaliar of Mylapore, a Saivite scholar to pursue his studies under him. He learnt the Śāstras on Śaivism, namely Tiru Aruḷpayan Śivajñāna Siddhi (Parapakkam), Śivaprakāśam and Sivajñāna Bodham.

After his study under Mr. Mudaliar, he got acquainted with eminent persons like Maṟaimalai Aḍigal, Pāmban Swāmi, Tirukkuraḷ Kuppuswāmi Mudaliar and Pandit Swāminātha of Jaffna etc. These scholars on knowing the talents of Tiru. Vi. Ka. treated him as their colleague. He thus became popular during this time and earned name and fame. Years passed. One of his step-brothers, Mr. Rāju Mudaliar compelled him to study Book-keeping and so he completed that course also.

Family :

When Tiru. Vi. Ka. was a teacher in Thousandlights school, he married Kamalāmbikai in 1912. Till her death in 1918 when he was the editor of Desabhaktan he lived happily with her. During their six years of married life a boy and a girl were born to them but shortly after they died. A few years later his wife also died due to Asthma. He lived with her happily as the Tamil conventional saying goes, like 'fruit and taste,

flower and smell, instrument and music'. Before and after his wife's death he lived with his brother's family together with his mother. After the death of his spouse many relatives and others tried to get him married, but failed. Till his death (17-9-1953) Tiru. Vi. Ka. never thought of separation from the joint family.

His Career : Cataloguer :

Tiru. Vi. Ka. searched for job for sometime but failed. Finally in 1907 he got a job in Spencer & Co., Madras as a Cataloguer. Here he led his life happily reading patriotic magazines and hearing speeches of well-known leaders of Indian National Congress. Inspired by Aurobindo's Bande Mātaram (a newspaper in English), he used to read this paper and explain to the co-workers what was happening in the country and how the leaders fought for the freedom of India. On knowing his activities the Managing Director of the Company, warned him. He felt hurt, resigned the job and left the Company. The Manager of the Company persuaded him to withdraw his resignation but failed. Here he served nearly for a year.

Teacher :

Tiru.Vi.Ka., his brother and a friend of them met and decided to start a printing press to publish religious books. Accordingly they printed and published a few books such as Periya Purāṇam and Tirumantiram, but closed it after two years because of heavy loss. To meet the excess expense the Press and even the jewels of his mother were sold out. Even then it was not possible for the brothers to make both ends meet. In 1910 another friend of Tiru.Vi.Ka. accompanied him and the two met Mr. John Rathnam Pillai, who was the Headmaster of an Elementary school in Thousandlights for a job. Mr. Pillai after knowing their position and talents appointed them in his school as teachers. This is the first school where Tiru.Vi.Ka. started his career as a teacher. Here he served for six years and earned popularity. At that time he came in close contact with the teachings of Christianity and Islam.

In 1916 this school was closed. With the great help of Mr. John Rathnam Pillai and his friends Tiru.Vi.Ka. took up the job as Professor of Tamil in the Wesley College in June 1916. Here he served for one and a half years. By his extensive knowledge and talents he succeeded in stepping up the standards of the students and teachers.

Editor :

During these years patriotic feelings were kindled in his heart. He was acquainted with Justice Sadasiva Iyer of the High Court, Madras, a close follower of Dr. Annie Besant of Theosophical Society and others. With the co-operation and friendship of these noble and patriotic leaders he beeame very active in the political and social fields. On the advice of his friends he resigned the Professorship on 5-12-1917 and joined as Editor of a Tamil daily, Desabhaktan on 7-12-1917.

When Tiru.Vi.Ka. became the editor of Desabhaktan he worked with great vigour. Fully equipped with the talents of an editor he dealt with matters like freedom movement, emancipation of women, labour movement, greatness of the Tamil language and literature etc. stubbornly, straightforwardly yet broadmindedly. Being a talented language teacher he wielded a simple language which was at once thought provoking and emotional. This won for him great admiration from among the Tamilians and others who were attracted by his clarity of speech and writings.

More people from various parts of Tamil Nadu came to know about Tiru.Vi.Ka. on reading Desabhaktan. They gave suggestions to him either to start a newspaper under a limited company on behalf of the non-brahmins or to supervise a women's college at Kāraikudi. He did not reject the latter. But some of his friends wanted him to remain in Madras, in order to strengthen the labour movement. So, at a meeting of the labourers they deliberated and finally decided that those who were willing to assist Tiru.Vi.Ka. shall contribute rupee one each. A fund of about Rs. 2,000/- was collected by them

and by some of his other friends and presented to him. With this amount a printing press was bought. He named it as Sadhu Press. Through the Press a weekly paper by name Navasakti was published.

The first issue came on 22nd October 1920. From that day onwards for nearly 20 years it was read eagerly by the people of Tamilnad. In the opening issue of the journal he mentioned the aims of Navasakti. He put forth his nine aims to the public as the name Navasakti would suggest. (i) To work for Democracy that being the fundamental basis to achieve freedom; (ii) To strenghten the labour movement that provides basic strength to democracy; (iii) To organise a labour party to strengthen the labour movement, set right the grievances of the labourers and draw the attention of the Government to the labour movement; (iv) To work for the development of agriculture, handicrafts etc. and try to remove the difficulties of the labourers and to develop the Industries; (v) To strive for the welfare of the womenfolk; (vi) To reorganise the Tamil language, customs and traditions; (vii) To eradicate the caste feelings and class hatred among the people and to develop universal brotherhood; (viii) To condemn the evil-doings of parties of the country while extending love and regard to the leaders of those parties and try to make them align with a party which seeks to improve the condition of the nation and (ix) To recognise all those born in India as Indians, to create among Indians a sense of oneness and to sacrifice for their welfare.

During his editorship of this weekly he changed it as bi-weekly, tri-weekly and later monthly according to the circumstances and needs and also facilities available. As an Editor he dealt in his paper with the Tamil language and literature, welfare of Tamil scholars, development of the Indian National Congress etc. and spread the message of the freedom movement as voiced by Dr. Annie Besant, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi.

His Achievement :

(a) *Journalism* : Tiru.Vi.Ka. in his autobiography analyses his achievements through Desabhaktan and Navasakti : "Burning enthusiasm and unquenchable excitement found their way in Desabhaktan; love and equanimity were the qualities of Navasakti. The god of Deśabhaktan was Rudra, its pen was like pāśupata astra. The god of Navasakti was Lord Śiva; its pen was flute. In style Desabhaktan played the role of Goddess Kāli and Navasakti, Goddess, Umādevī."

Tiru.Vi.Ka. spent his whole time for the development of Navasakti, when burning political problems of the nation were being discussed. Navasakti also devoted special attention to social reform, welfare of women, special features of Tamil language, development of arts etc. Most of the issues were wafting the fragrance of socialistic sanmārga.

Navasakti also earned name and fame like Desabhaktan. Serving in various fields including politics, Navasakti attracted the attention of leaders of even the opposite parties. Navasakti made her majestic entry in several parts of the world like Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Malaya, Mauritius, South Africa, England, France and Germany. Reverend fathers of Europe even after their return to their motherland never forgot Navasakti.

Personality : He had varied knowledge of men and matters. Tiru.Vi.Ka. had three extraordinary qualities, says Dr. M. Varadarajan. They are 1. cleanliness 2. simplicity 3. syncretism.

Cleanliness : He was clean outwardly and inwardly, in writings and thoughts, in his dress as well as in his words, in his duties as well as in his conduct.

Simplicity : He was easy of approach and sympathetic in response. He would politely point out the mistakes and evils of others.

Syncretism : He followed the footsteps of Mahātmā Gandhi in the political field and Karl Marx in the economic field. Following Rāmalinga Swāmi he tried to understand and respect

all religions of the world and to strive for oneness among all religions; he recognised Tiruvaḷḷuvar's maxims as the guiding principles of humanity.

(b) *Religion*: On account of his association in his school days with his teachers like Kadirvêl Pillai, Krishna Rao and G. G. Cox he was acquainted with Śaivism and Christianity. He took great interest in Śaivism, Vaishṇavism, Jainism, Buddhism, Christianity and Islam and mastered them. These things created in him an interest to write on religion.

In each religion or God he found the qualities of oneness or unity in diversity. The distinctive qualities he imbibed from each religion are youth from Lord Muruga, *nishkāmiya karma* from Lord Krishna, repentence and love from Jesus Christ, monotheism from Islam, joy from Nature, compassion from Jainism, dharma from Buddhism and mauna from Dakṣiṇāmūrti. He conceived the varied religious aspects converging in one unity and that was one of his great achievements in the religious field. Till his death his dearest god was Lord Muruga and at the same time he read and respected the teachings of all other religions without any aversion which a vast section of humanity lacks.

(c) *Labour Movement*: When he was working as a Cataloguer in Spencer & Co., Madras, he came into contact with Hardy, a Parliamentarian and leader of the Labour Party of England. Coming to know Mr. Hardy personally and having read his biographical sketch in the newspaper subsequently, Tiru. Vi. Ka. took great interest in the labour movement. His fluency in Tamil and his involvements in their activities earned a good name among the labourers. Eminent people like G. Selvapathy Chetty, Dewan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai, B. P. Wadia and others who were the pioneers of the labour movement in the South, tried to involve him into the movement. In association with these great persons he got himself more deeply inolved in the labour movement. He advocated the cause of labourers belonging to various concerns and factories and mobilised organisations of labour. During a period of thirty years in the

field of labour movement he became president twice and held the post for eleven years. All these years, he tried to improve the conditions of the workers. Being an editor of daily and weekly magazines he explained to the public the problems of labourers. Thus in his lifetime he devoted more time to the labour movement than any thing else. He so impressed the labourers by his sincere work that they considered him one among them.

(d) *Women's Emancipation*: From his childhood onwards Tiru. Vi. Ka. respected women. In his school career his teachers' wives too took great interest in him. In his later life, he came into contact with the great ladies in various walks of life like Dr. Annie Besant, Ramamirtham of Moovalur, Pandit Asalambikai, Pandit Krishnaveni and others. He moved with them affectionately like a disciple, a co-worker, a son and a father respectively. This attitude attracted the attention of the womenfolk.

He was fortunate enough to have close contact with Dr. Annie Besant, an eminent theosophist through his friend Justice Sadasiva Iyer. Dr. Besant caused a turning point in his political career. She was solely responsible for his entrance into politics, for being editor of newspapers and propagating universal brotherhood among the religions etc.

He wrote a famous book on women 'Peṇṇin Perumai' allatu, Vāḷkkai Tuṇaivi' (The Glory of Women or the life partner). In this he dealt in detail with the different stages of women's life. He established the superiority of women in the society in a convincing manner.

(e) *Politics*: In 1916 the conference of the Śaiva Siddhānta Mahā Samājam was held in Madras. On the evening of the third day of the conference, Sir P. Theyagaraja Chettiyar spoke on the need for improvement of the condition of non-brahmins. Mr. Chettiyar narrated the influence of the brahmins and the deterioration of the non-brahmins. In order to uplift the non-brahmins in the society, it was thought necessary to form a

party. He held that it was not advisable to believe that the Indian National Congress or the Home Rule Movement would help his cause. Tiru. Vi. Ka. attended the meeting and heard his speech. As he was loyal to the Congress and attached to Dr. Annie Besant, he wanted to deny the charges of Chettiyar; he refrained from responding to the call on account of his sense of responsibility to the national cause.

In 1917 three daily issues were published on behalf of the Association for the welfare of non-brahmins in English, Tamil and Telugu. 'Justice' in English and 'Dravidian' in Tamil supported the then Government and aroused caste feelings. They solely aimed at the defeat of the National Congress and criticised the religious activities as well as temple worship. These were against the principles of Tiru. Vi. Ka. Being a staunch supporter of Indian National Congress and the Home Rule movement he strongly condemned the views of the Justice Party.

At the same time the then Government arrested Dr. Annie Besant, the leader of the Home Rule Movement. Being a close follower of Dr. Besant, the arrest of his leader impelled him to enter into politics. But some of his friends and the Head of his Institution were opposed to it. While Dr. Besant was under custody, the Justice Party became popular. Meetings were held in Madras to condemn its principles.

One of the meetings was held at Gokhale Hall, under the presidentship of Dewan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai. On that occasion Tiru. Vi. Ka. spoke on 'Dravidian and the Congress'. In his speech he analysed the history of the Dravidians and the Aryans and their integration in modern India and that it was not possible to divide them as Dravidians and Aryans. In modern India, people under the British rule were slaves and it was our duty, he said, to fight for the freedom of our land and not for creating caste feelings and to help the British to rule longer. The Indian National Congress was started for getting freedom from the British. So, the Indian National Congress did not countenance caste feelings. Hence those who

planned to defeat the Congress were considered as men who heartlessly ventured to murder their mother.

Tiru. Vi. Ka's. speech was published in the newspapers. The non-brahmins in the Congress tried to form an association. In a few days in the same Gokhale Hall, Association of the Madras Presidency (AMP) was started. Its aim was not to contradlct the ideals of the Congress, but, at the same time, to work for the welfare of the non-brahmins of South India. Dewan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai as President and five others including Mr. E. V. Ramaswamy as Vice-Presidents and Tiru. Vi. Ka. along with other five persons as secretaries were elected. To spread the ideas of the AMP. Dr. P. Varadarajulu Naidu, toured South India.

Not expecting this kind of opposition the Justice Party criticised that under the instigation of the brahmins the AMP was started by their partisans. At that time, there was no newspaper on behalf of the AMP. to oppose this view. After the AMP. was started Dr. Besant and others were freed from imprisonment. The then minister for India in Britain, Mr. Montagu Chelmsford came to India. He visited Madras in the middle of December. Among the group of witnesses the AMP. was not included. So protest meetings were held in the beach and in the Gokhale Hall. Tiru. Vi. Ka. was one among the speakers. Being the editor of Desabaktan he strongly objected to the noninclusion of the AMP as a witness. Finally the Government included the AMP. After a few years however the AMP. disappeared from the scene.

As one of the secretaries of the AMP. Tiru. Vi. Ka. stressed the importance and the need for improvement of the native language namely Tamil. Several resolutions were passed in the conference. The most important one was that the speakers should speak in Tamil. He wholeheartedly supported it and wrote articles in his paper. His speeches and writings in eloquent Tamil influenced even great speakers of English to make Tamil speeches. This was the first revolution that took place during his life. Even the Congress of Tamilnad transacted

its business activities only in Tamil. In the Corporation and the Assembly elections of 1924, 1925 and 1926, he worked vigorously for the Congress.

In the early stage of his activities in the Congress, his aim was to oppose the ideals of the Justice Party. Though he was against the ideals of the Justice Party he was not against its leaders like Sir P. Thyagaraja Chettiyar, Raja of Panagal and Dr. Natesa Mudaliar. He differed from them in their views but moved with them in a friendly manner.

Under the leadership of Dr. Besant, Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi, the Indian National Congress carried on various activities simultaneously. Under these leaders, Tiru. Vi. Ka. worked for the freedom of India. As an editor of Desabaktan and Navasakti he wrote editorials and articles supporting these three leaders. He spread their political doctrines effectively among the people of Tamilnad. To achieve the freedom of India, Desabaktan and Navasakti played an important role among the newspapers in Tamilnad.

In the year 1925 he presided over the Congress of Tamilnadu at Kanchipuram. This was an important event in the history of the Congress of Tamilnadu. In the conference Mr. E. V. R. and Mr. Ramanathan proposed two resolutions. Tiru. Vi. Ka. as the president of the Conference rejected them because the first resolutiou was already rejected at the executive meeting: further the two resolutions were totally contradictory to the object of the Conference. E. V. R. ignored this and opposed the president.

Tiru. Vi. Ka's. reply did not satisfy E. V. R. and his friends. So they made a walkout. From that day onwards the two great leaders of Tamilnad, Tiru. Vi. Ka. and E. V. R. worked in opposite camps for the rest of their life. Tiru. Vi. Ka. acted as a true follower of Congress movement till his death.

As a close follower of Mahatma Gandhi and at the same time a vigorous worker and a leader of labour movement, he

spread the ideals of Gandhi and Karl Marx. He not only read the age-old books of the world but took great interest in modern books, particularly those on Gandhism and Marxism. He studied them deeply. He found no irreconcilable difference between them. He thought that their principles would be pertinent to Indian circumstances.

His Style: Tiru. Vi. Ka. studied with intense interest Tamil literature as well as English. He studied the works of Milton, Shakespeare, Wordsworth, Keats, Shelley, Bernard Shah, Karl Marx, Leo Tolstoy, Blavatsky and Annie Besant. Being a great thinker he analysed all that he read and heard including the style of writing and speech of others and carved one of his own.

(i) *As a Prose Writer*: Tiru. Vi. Ka. wrote 56 books. Out of these, more than 35 books are in prose. Being an effective writer he wrote on several subjects. In the beginning he spent his time in writing pamphlets condemning other religions except Śaivism. His first work was a life history of N. Kadiraivēl Pillai of Jaffna. In this book he adopted the style of Somasundara Nāyagar and Sabhāpathi Nāvalar. We find in the book alliteration and beauty of syntactical construction. Sentences are very long and more than two or three points are incorporated in one sentence.

After he became the editor of Desabaktan he adopted a new style. This style of writing continued in all his other works. This style slowly took shape and finally became famous among the people of Tamil Nad. People called his style 'The Style of Tiru. Vi. Ka.' The special feature of this style was the construction of simple sentences with three or four words. Only one point was stressed in each sentence. Emotional content and effectiveness of expression are the qualities of his style. His writings in prose covered not only literature but also politics, society, labour movement, religions, spiritual and modern themes.

(ii) *As a Poet*: He read most of the poetical works of Tamil literature with keen interest. Though he was not a born

poet he possessed poetical qualities. He has written 15 poetical works. As he worked in various fields he had no time to write calmly after deep thinking. Even his speeches were marked by poetical beauty. His prose works have a poetical touch. He wrote nearly 2,700 poems. In them he used the metres like Akaval, Veṇbā, Kalippā, Viruttam and Kīrtanais.

Being a Śaivite he held that the three primary principles of Śaivism namely, God, soul and the world should be combined in one poem. Shortage of even one among them was not countenanced by him.

Last Days:

Though he worked hard without caring for his health and facilities, at the age of 66 he became blind and he was confined in his house for the rest of his life. He and his brothers lived in a rented house. The house-owner had the fear that the Government would take over his house and give it to Tiru. Vi. Ka. So the owner requested him to vacate the house in his last days. Already his brother had died. There was no one to take care of him with real affection. Only his brother's daughters, their husbands and their children were with him. He was content and led a simple life. Till his death Mr. M. Narayanaswamy (died in November 1981) the Manager of Sadhu Press helped him in writing out the dictations made by Tiru. Vi. Ka and publishing them.

The work of Tiru. Vi. Ka. will be remembered and hailed in future also. His principles will be appreciated and followed. On the 17th September 1953 he died after prolonged illness at his residence in Royapettah. Most of the ambitions, for which he laboured were fulfilled during his life time.

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SIDDHA SYSTEM OF MEDICINE

Dr. V. NARAYANASWAMI, L.I.M., H.P.I.M.,

Professor and Head of the Department of Ayurveda, (Retd).,
Government College of Indian Medicine, Madras

The Science of medicine is of fundamental importance to man's well being and his survival, and so it must have originated with man and developed gradually as civilization advanced. The development of medicine is a continuous process. Any system of medicine is not a discovery or invention in the conventional sense, but a gradual evolution in successive periods of history. It owes its progress to great savants of science in various periods and also to the Society and civilization as a whole.

There were two ancient systems of medicine in India, the Siddha which flourished in the South and the Āyurveda which prevailed in the north. I would deal only with the Siddha System of medicine, whose literature is in Tamil. Instead of giving the name of any one individual as the founder of the System, our ancients wisely attributed its origin to the Divine being, Śiva. So the Siddha system is of Śaiva Sampradāya. Śiva taught it to Pārvatī, She to Nandideva and He to Agastya and so on is the Guru paramparā. Traditionally every thing in Tamil, including the language, is attributed to Agastya, who is called Tamil Rishi, and whose permanent abode, it has been said, is the hill "Podiya Malai" near Madurai. It is not necessary to enter into a discussion of the period of Agastya, as it is all shrouded in Purāṇic lore. Tamil research workers have identified at least 13 Agastyas. Agastya is said to have imparted the knowledge of medicine to Siddhas.

Siddhas are those who attained 'Siddhi' or perfection as a result of birth, drugs, mantras, austerities or Samādhi, says Patañjali in his Yoga Sūtras.

जन्मौषधि मन्त्रतपः समाधिजाः सिद्धयः

Janmauṣadhi mantra tapaḥ samādhijāḥ siddhayaḥ

So these Siddhas, who are supposed to be eighteen in number, have given in different periods of history not only their knowledge of medicine, but also their philosophy to their students and successors. A Siddha by name Tirumūlar, has given in Tirumantiram, a book of 3,000 verses, apart from other things, knowledge of embryology and medicine. This is according to research scholars about 3,000 years ago. Most of the books on Siddha system though written in different periods, are attributed to Agastya. Some Siddhas as Bogar, Iḍaikkāḍar and Thēraiyar are of recent origin and lived probably in the middle age.

The prevention and the cure of illness are the basic aims of all systems of medicine. The Siddha system has, in addition, a transcendental motivation, a concern for what might be called, the immortality of the body, as the soul also is immortal. The Hindu System of philosophy admits of two modes of salvation. One is videha mukti. The other is salvation in this life, with the body rendered immortal, which is called jīvan-mukti. The Siddhas aimed at jīvan-mukti; hence the ultimate aim of their system of medicine was to have a perfect body, maintained by medicines to which they gave the name 'Kalpas'. Achievement of Jīvan-mukti was possible according to them by yoga and auṣadha (meditation and medicine) the one being complementary to the other. The liberation of the immortal and that in conjunction with the perishable body is a concept that will not easily commend itself to the rational mind, but it will be conceded, that it had the effect of setting the aims of medicine superlatively high.

மறுப்பதுடல் நோய் மருந்தெனில் ஆகும்
மறுப்பதுள நோய் மருந்தெனில் சாலும்
மறுப்பதினி நோய் வராதிருப்பவே
மறுப்பது சாவை மருந்தெனலாமே—திருமூலர் 8000.

Rendered into English it means, 'medicine is one which cures physical and mental diseases, prevents illness and death.

So, the ultimate aim is to live and attain Mukti. In the texts of Āyurveda it is different. It aims only to prevent and cure diseases. They declare, न च वैद्यः प्रभुरायुषः 'the physician is not the lord of life', he is only Bhiṣagācārya, a dispenser of medicines.

In the search for medicine that could prevent the body from perishing, they were naturally attracted to materials which would themselves not perish. The body cells perish every day and they are being continuously replenished. When the process of the waste of the cells overtakes the process of repair, the body becomes incompetent and old. If the waste could be arrested, there would be no need for replenishment. There are medicines claimed to have been found by the Siddhas, which could arrest the degeneration of the cells. Naturally, they chose drugs which do not themselves perish. In Āyurveda, the materia medica consists largely of drugs of vegetable origin, and in later days, the system adopted metals and minerals, whereas, in the Siddha system, metals and minerals have been used to a greater extent than drugs of vegetable origin. Indeed it could be asserted, that the Siddhas were the pioneers in the use of metals and minerals in the treatment of diseases. This unique achievement of Siddha system, has not received at the hands of historians, the recognition it deserves.

Alchemical ideas dominate Siddha medicine. It is a moot question, whether Siddha alchemy succeeded at any time, or whether there is any substance in the claims made even today by some zealots of the system, that they can transmute metals. The point to remember is that, the Siddhas had advanced far ahead of their contemporaries, in their researches in metals and minerals and in the development of inorganic compounds for the treatment of diseases.

Alchemy was not the primary aim of the Siddhas in their work on metals and minerals. They wanted to evolve drugs that would arrest the decay of the body. They thought that this could not be achieved by drugs which are themselves subject to decay. Unlike drugs of vegetable origin, preparations

from metals and minerals do not lose their potency with lapse of time. They can be administered in small and convenient doses. They are available in all seasons and can be preserved indefinitely. Vegetable materia medica like roots, barks and leaves have to be collected during particular seasons. Many seasonal shrubs become unavailable if the monsoon fails. In a country like India with its varying terrain and elimate and unpredictable rains, it is not safe for the physicians to depend on drugs of vegetable origin only. The Siddhas have anticipated the trend of modern medicine in looking for drugs that are more dependable than crude preparations of vegetable origin.

There is supposed to be a fundamental relationship between composition of drugs, man and the universe. As the universe is composed of five Mahā Bhūtas, likewise the body is a manifestation of five Mahā Bhūtas, so also the drugs are made up of Mahā Bhūtas. The concept of the identity between the macrocosm, Brahmāṇḍa, and the microcosm, Sūkṣmāṇḍa, which means, that whatever is found in the Aṇḍa is also to be found in the Piṇḍa, equates the five elements both in the universe and in the body, and guides the physician in his choice of the appropriate medicaments suited to each case. The physiological equation of Pañca Bhūtas in the body is doṣa. Ākāśa and Vāyu constitute Vāta doṣa, Agni constitutes Pitta and Ap and Pṛthvī constitute Kapha. So for example, if the doṣa Vāta is weak in the body giving rise to typical symptoms, drugs that preponderate in the characteristics of Vāta can be selected and administered to normalise the doṣa in the body. So also when Vāta is preponderant in the body, drugs that possess opposite characteristics or properties of Pṛthvī (solid element) are to be selected and given.

Mercury and sulphur (Rasa and Gandhaka) play a major role in the therapeutics of Siddha medicine. There is a saying, that if one could control mercury, poverty would be abolished from the world. The idea is that mercury could be used for the purpose of converting base metals into gold. Mercury occupies a very high place in Siddha medicine. It could be

called the sheet-anchor of Siddha therapeutics. It is used as an alternative in the sense that, whatever the condition, it alters the pathology. In constipation it could be given as a purgative and in diarrhoea it may be given to arrest the motion.

When mercury is used, it is more often in combination with sulphur. The addition of sulphur is to control the fluidity of the mercury. As is known to students of chemistry, this converts mercury to mercuric sulphide which is insoluble in mineral acids. In Hindu alchemy this symbolises the union of Śiva and Śakti. To emphasise this aspect, both in Siddha and in Āyurveda, mercury and sulphur are termed Śiva bīja and Pārvatī bīja respectively, meaning that unless the seed and the egg unite, there will be no creation, and there will be no therapeutic activity unless these two elements combine. In some preparations Siddhas use the sublimate of mercury called Rasa pataṅga.

An important classification of drugs is, as Śatru (enemy) and Mitram (friend) on the basis of their mutual interaction. The modern equivalents for these terms are compatible and incompatible. Drugs that are compatible with each other, produce either an additive action, meaning the effect of the combination is the sum total of the effects of the constituents or a synergestic action, meaning potentiation of the action of one drug by another. Incompatible drugs, when combined, antagonise each other and reduce the therapeutic action.

In modern therapeutics three types of incompatibility are recognised.

1. Therapeutic: for example, the mutually antagonistic action of a stimulant and a depressant.
2. Physical: for example, the insolubility of a solid in a particular liquid medium which rules out certain dosage forms.
3. Chemical: when two substances react with each other, the resultant compound no longer possesses the therapeutic action of the original constituents.

A study of Siddha literature would show that the Siddhas have anticipated these concepts and enumerated the drugs which are Śatru and Mitram—enemy and friend.

Diagnosis:

Diagnosis of the diseases is an essential factor before commencing the treatment, whatever may be the system of medicine.

நோய்நாடி நோய்முதல் நாடி அதுதணிக்கும்
வாய்நாடி வாய்ப்பச் செயல் —திருக்குறள், 948.

indicates the approach to the process of diagnosis of Siddhas. Noy Nāḍal means to find the disease and Noy Mudal Nāḍal denotes the determination of the etiopathology of the disease. In Siddha system diagnosis is based on the examination of eight entities or Sthānas. The eight entities are, pulse, eyes, voice, touch, colour, tongue, faeces and urine. This is the aṣṭa-sthāna-parīkṣā mentioned in Agastya Vaidya Sāra.

Though the examination of these is mentioned in almost all the systems of medicine, mention must be made of the specialisation of nāḍi, or pulse reading and the examination of urine with oil in Siddha System. Siddhas were essentially Yogis and secondarily physicians. Yoga Siddhi is the result of the profound concentration and to study the behaviour of pulse properly, concentration is necessary. The rate, volume and tension of the pulse is even now read by the physicians of all systems. But the Siddha physicians not only diagnose the disease, but also know the prognosis by the study of the pulse. Nāḍi in Siddha works means two things; One the pulse and the other nerves. In works on Haṭa Yoga, both in Tamil and in Sanskrit, 72,000 Nāḍis are mentioned taking roots from the main Suṣumnā. The iḍā and pingalā are two other Nāḍis which are on either side of Suṣumnā. There are ten important nerves mentioned, the above three being more important. These constitute the sympathetic nervous system.

The pulse is influenced in health and in disturbed health by the nerves mentioned above and their minute branches all

over the body. That is why though Nāḍi in general parlance means nerve, in medical works the term refers only to the pulsating arteries for purposes of Nāḍi reading. The subtle influence of these nerves, generally on the circulatory system is indicated in arteries as well, and the experienced physician understands the nature of the illness. Elaborate precautions are made before the pulse is read, regarding the time of the day, season, food etc.

The pulse can be felt in any superficial artery, though it is generally felt in the radial artery. That these arteries are influenced by the nerves and secretions like hormones is indisputable. An example may be cited. In fear or anger the pulse quickens. This is due to increased secretion and output of adrenaline which circulates in the body. This is a gross indication. In suble quantities, other hormones and body enzymes continuously influence the working of the body and mind, which could be noted by the experienced physicians in the Siddha system of medicine by reading the pulse.

Urine examination is another speciality of the Siddha system, both for diagnosis and prognosis. Urine is a waste product, *mala*, which carries and throws out impurities from biological and metabolic activites in the body. So naturally it is influenced by the state of health of the individual. The colour of urine, smell, density, quantity and froth, if any, is noted. These are common to all systems of medicine. But in Siddha system, in addition to these, the surface tension and the pattern of spread of the oil on the surface of urine gives valuable information to the physician, the doṣas, the organs affected, and the termination of the disease. For this study, the urine is collected and put in a basin and a drop of 'gingelly' or *til* oil is put. The oil spreads, giving varied colours and patterns indicating the disease. It may also sink, then the indication is different. Oil drop indicating bad prognosis, is by way of – (1) rapid spread with froth ; (2) the oil splitting into several smaller droplets and spreading rapidly ; (3) mixing with

the urine; (4) drop sinking; (5) the drop spread showing the pattern of an arrow, sword or spear.

Siddhas have got enough medicines which are of great therapeutic use in a variety of diseases. In fact, most of the books found now in printed or manuscript form are a record of formulae, left to posterity, of the experience of various physicians in the past.

The Siddhas have developed a discipline called Kāya Kalpa, designed for longevity with complete freedom from illness. It is similar to the Rasāyana treatment of the Āyurveda and gerontology of the modern medicine. Āyurvedic texts say that a man gets from Rasāyana the following benefits; long life, memory, intelligence, freedom from illness, youthful feeling, lustre of complexion, strength to the physical body and sense organs, powerful speech and sex power.

दीर्घमायुः स्मृतिं मेधामारोग्यं तरुणं वयः ।
प्रभावर्णस्वरौदार्यं देहेन्द्रियबलं परम् ॥
वाक्सिद्धिं वृषतां कान्तिं लभते ना रसायनात् ।

Caraka chi. I-6-7

In short when one undergoes Rasāyana treatment one wards off the ill effects of ageing and retains the youthful faculties of both the body and mind. The word 'Kalpa' means 'able', 'competent' when it is connected with 'Kāya' or body; the term means competency or ability of the body. The body is inclusive of the mind. Vājīkaraṇa or the science of aphrodisiacs is not mentioned separately in Siddha system. The explanation is that, when Kāya Kalpa treatment is undertaken, the vigour of the body and mind are restored and so there is no need for separate attention for Vājikaraṇa or aphrodisiacs as in Āyurveda.

As mentioned earlier, the Siddhas have pressed into service their knowledge of metallic and mineral preparations in the field of Kāya Kalpa also. Gold and mercury figure prominently in drugs for rejuvenation. Gold reduced to the form of Bhasma

by the Siddha methods of calcination is capable of being absorbed and utilised by the tissues as a therapeutic agent. Now it is generally accepted that gold and some of the compounds of heavy metals considered to be insoluble, could be rendered assimilable by special process and used as therapeutic agents. Gold, particularly of those who have passed their middle age, is used as a Kalpa medicine, for rejuvenation, for sex and longevity. Certain mercury compounds are similarly used.

More than medicine, it is the discipline of life led by the individual which ensures longevity and freedom from illness. One of the measures recommended is controlled breathing - Prāṇāyāma. Tirumūlar says, that if the breathing could be controlled properly the old would be young.[1]

Another aspect of Kāya Kalpa is the diet during the period of treatment. Tirumūlar says, if the universe were to reduce itself, it is immaterial, but if the body is reduced, life would become permanent.[2]

Uṇḍi is food and the purpose of the verse is that the less one eats, the healthier one can remain.

Siddhas who have achieved perfection or Siddhi by their meditation, Yoga and medicine, had left their imprints deeply in the sands of time, and those who are interested in the science will find a rich source of information in their literature for the healthy living. The Siddha medicine has been in practice all through the ages giving relief to suffering humanity.

வளியினை வாங்கி வயிற்றில் அடக்கில்
பளிங்கோத்துக்காயம் பழுக்கிறும் பிஞ்சாம்
....திருமூலர், 569

அண்டம் சுருங்கில் அதற்கோர் அளவில்லை
பிண்டம் சுருங்கில் பிராணன் நிலைபெறும்
உண்டி சுருங்கில் உபாயம் பலஉள
....திருமூலர், 735.

CLASSIFICATION OF PERSONALITY IN CARAKA SAMHITĀ

BY

DR. M. S. KALANIDHI
U.G.C. Research Associate *

In India our ancient sages had great insight into human nature and its manifestations. They were simultaneously aware of the intricacies of the body and the mysteries of the mind. Their thoughts and teachings were cystallized in the form of a great system of medicine that is Āyurveda. It is a life science which includes in its fold all the principles governing the mechanism of body and mind in health and sickness. Caraka Samhitā is one such medical treatise wherein we find psychological material pertaining to classification of men on par with the development of constitutional psychology in the West since the time of Hippocrates.

In Caraka Samhitā, there are three fold classifications of personality. In the first case, personality is based on the humoural disposition, namely that of vāta, pitta and *kapha* respectively. Each one of the humours has certain predominant qualities of its own and correspondingly certain constitutional traits also. (Tables I, II & III). Secondly, constitutional traits have also been attributed on the basis of the perfectness of the eight body elements such as skin, blood, flesh, fat, bone, marrow, semen and psyche. (Refer Table IV). Lastly, the psychic and mental types of the individual also form the basis of classification. (Tables, V, VI, VII and VIII).

The perusal of the Tables I, II and III indicate that the humoural type is based on the combination of the qualities pertaining to the particular humour. Caraka states that those

* Under the supervision of Dr. R. Balasubramaniam, Director, Dr. Radhakrishnan Centre of Advanced Study in Philosophy, University of Madras.

of Kapha type are possessed of strength, wealth, knowledge, vitality, gentleness and long life. Those of Pitta type are of moderate knowledge, experience, wealth and means. Those of Vāta type are generally of less strength, short life span, scanty offspring and means and of meagre wealth.

The first observation of Caraka's classification is that it is not a mere physical type theory alone. But it is a humoural type with corresponding psychophysical correlations. It is in fact a biophysical and biopsychic classification with a wide scope for varieties depending on the permutation combination of the various qualities. For instance, the qualities of each type are no doubt distinct, but the humoural properties may undergo modification in the process of interaction with the properties of the other two humours, with the result there may be many varieties possible among these humoural types, Vāta, Pitta and Kapha respectively. This is indicative of the fact that human beings cannot be easily assorted into ready made distinct types, in view of the human potentialities and their flexibilities being so rich and unlimited.

The second classification of personality is the one based on body elements and their perfectness (Refer Table IV). Caraka states that those in whom all the eight body elements are in perfect tone are long lived, happy, healthy and given to good pursuits in life. In short, one finds in Table IV a concise biological picture of a healthy personality.

According to Caraka, the period of childhood is characterised mostly by kapha element and upto sixteen years of age, the person is immature, delicate, incomplete in strength and intolerant of troubles. Till he is of thirty years of age, he is generally of undermined psychic disposition. The middle age is characterised by Pitta element lasting till sixty years of age wherein the man is of strong and of well determined psychic disposition, of compact body element. After sixty years, during old age, Vāta element predominates with gradual decay of the body elements, sense organs, manhood, strength etc. There is a gradual wearing down till the age of hundred years. This

variation in the humoural disposition at different age levels is an interesting point for observation.

In most of the studies in physical types, the common criteria used in the assessment were fat, linearity and muscularity. Caraka observes that the threefold characteristics of body build alone may prove to be deceptive in diagnosis. For instance. there are persons who appear small in body and emaciated but are strong. They are like the ants which carry relatively great loads. Hence the body elements and their perfections are also tested in addition to the placement of the individuals as belonging more to one of the three habitus, vàta, pitta, and kapha respectively. Though a person is found to possess more characteristic of the Vàta type, at the same time he possesses in different measures the relative characteristic of the other two humours also. The different permutation and combination of the humoural characteristics make it difficult for a non-physician to assess the resultant type and traits correctly.

In addition to the body build and body elements, Caraka classifies persons on the basis of their psychic strength as high, moderate and low (Table V). The mind is divided into three kinds - pure, passionate and ignorant, each representing the beneficial, violent and deluded aspect of the intelligence. The following intellectual types are based on these variations in the psychic set up.

The Sattvic type is classified into seven categories representing the beneficent kind (Table VI). The Rajasic type is classified under six categories representing passion (Table VII) and Tāmasic type under three headings representing inert aspect of the mind. (Table VIII). The variations within each type Sāttvic, Rājasic and Tāmasic are based on the different qualities pertaining to these types and each category representing more of a particular quality among those of a type. The seven Sattvic types differ according to the degree of purity of mind. The first variety, the Brāhmic is considered the purest since the beneficent aspect of the mind is perfectly represented in it. Similarly the six Rājasic types and three Tāmasic types show variations in the degree of

passion and inertia respectively. Many such variations are possible depending upon the degree, origin and body mind interaction. It is Caraka's contention that a particular type of body goes with a particular type of mind and similarly a particular type of mind with a particular type of body. An identification of the relation between the two will be possible only in the context of a complete integrated knowledge of the science of Āyurveda.

The wise physician ascertains the particular type of the individual through testimony, direct observation and inference. Though the fundamental classification is based on the humour, many variations have been allowed in the attribution of the corresponding traits. This reflects on the genius of the Āyurvedic system in recognising the complexity of the psychosomatic system of the individual and the comprehensive and dynamic nature of human being. The classifications cited are not rigid compartments to which individuals are thrust in, but they are flexible aids in helping the physician in locating the morbid condition and determining the type and degree of modification required.

In Āyurveda, the basic contention is that structure and function are significantly intertwined. The psychic and somatic aspect of personality are always considered interdependent. Caraka's classifications of personality are quite comprehensive covering the externally observable and objectively measurable physical attributes, the physiological variations in the organism and their corresponding psychological correlations on behaviour. The primary objective of this classification is mainly diagnostic and therapeutic. The general argument against such a constitutional approach to personality as in the case of Sheldon is that the close association between physical traits and personality considerations imply the relative superiority of genetic factors over environmental factor. Secondly, it is contended that physical factors inevitably cause certain limits in the social functioning and specifications of roles in the environmental context. Despite the initial failure of constitutional psychologists

to convince the scientific society, subsequent investigation by Irwin Child (1950), Walker (1962), Glueck and Gluek (1950) 1956), Epps and Parnell (1952), Gibbons (1963), Cortes (1961) provide further confirmation for the earlier findings reported by Sheldon (1941). But the constitutional approach of Āyurvedic system has its own merit. Having its in-built reliability and validity, the doctrine of personality type as propounded in Caraka Samhitā seems to transcend time and space. The system of classification can be further validated with the help of modern instruments of measurement.

Modern psychology and Āyurveda have a common task that of promoting life and alleviating the sufferings. This will be possible only when they come close together in their common pursuit of knowledge, understanding and action. Classifications of personality are of course many and each one has a purpose behind—either medical, psychological or both. To the extent knowledge is shared by both the disciplines mutually, the relative purpose may also be accomplished in a better way.

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TABLE I

SHOWING KAPHA HUMOURAL TYPE AND ITS CONSTITUTIONAL TRAITS – VIMĀNA STHĀNA

Humoural type	*Constitutional traits*
1. Unctuous	Glossy limbs
2. Smooth	Smooth limbs
3. Soft	Pleasant, delicate soft bodies
4. Sweet	Profusion of semen, liking for sex.
5. Firm	Well knit and stable bodies
6. Dense	Plumb and rounded in their limbs.
7. Slow	Slow in their actions and speech.
8. Stable	Slow in their undertaking, change of mood.
9. Heavy	Firm, large, stable gait
10. Cold	Hunger, thirst, heat, perspiration are meagre.
11. Viscid	Firm and well knit in their joints.
12. Clear	Clear looks, complexion and voice.

TABLE II

SHOWING PITTA TYPE HUMOURAL TYPE AND ITS TRAITS: VIMĀNA STHĀNA

Hot Acute Fluid Raw meatish in Smell, Acid & Pungent taste.	Intolerant of heat, delicate clear body, profuse moles and pimples, hungry and thirsty, excellent digestion, constant eaters, Flabby, soft Joints, profuse discharge of sweat, urine, faeces. Smell very much in the armpit, small quantity of semen, limited sex appetite and scanty offspring, early wrinkles, grey hair and baldness, scanty hair on the head and body.

TABLE III

SHOWING VĀTA HUMOURAL TYPE AND ITS CORRESPONDING TRAITS (VIMANA STHĀNA)

Humoural type	*Constitutional traits*
Dry	Dry, wasted, small bodies
Light	Light, inconstant of gait, behaviour, diet, speech.
Unsteady	Restless in their eyes, brows, jaws, lips etc.
Abundant	Prominent veins and tendons, given to much talk.
Swift	Quick in their undertaking, move etc. like, dislikes etc.
Cold	Intolerant of cold, suffer stiffness
Rough	Rough hair on the head, face and body.
Clear	Cracked limbs, joints make noise as they walk.

TABLE IV

CLASSIFICATION BASED ON PERFECTION OF BODY ELEMENTS (VIMĀNA STHĀNA)

Indication of perfect tone	*Indication of traits*
Skin Unctuous Smooth Soft Clear Thin Covered with short, delicate hair Lustre	Good fortune, happiness, power, pleasure, intelligence, knowledge, health, cheer and long life.
Blood Ears Eyes Mouth Tongue Nose Lips are Unctous Reddish Shapely Full of lustre Hands Soles of the feet Nails Forehead Genitals	Happiness, great intelligence, cheerfulness, delicacy, moderate strength.

Indication of Perfect tone		*Indication of traits*
Flesh		
Temples Forehead Eyes Cheeks Jaws Neck Shoulders Bellies Armpits Chests Joints of the hand, feet.	Covered with firm, heavy and comely muscle flesh	Patience, endurance, Stability, Wealth, Knowledge, Happiness,
Fat		
Excessive unctuousness in Complexion Voice Eyes Hair Nails Teeth Lips Urine Faeces		Wealth, Power, Happiness, Luxury, charity, frankness, delicate living.
Supporting tissue		
Stout heels, ankles, knees, forearm, bones, collar bones, chin, head; Joints bones, nails teeth.		Enthusiastic, active, bear difficulties, strong, firm bodies, live a long life.

Indication of Perfect tone	*Indication of traits*
Marrow	
Soft / Strong / Unctuous in complexion, voice, stout, long and rounded body.	Long lived, strong, possessed of learning, wealth, experience, offspring and honour
Semen	
Gentle Gentle light in eyes appears full of milk and cheer, unctuous, round, firm, close and even teeth, clear, unctuous complexion, voice and are lustrous and large hipped.	Coveted sources of enjoyment for women, happy, strong, power, health, wealth, honour & offspring.
Psychic	
Memory, Devotion Gratitude Wisdom Purity great energy Skill Courage prowess in battle freedom from sorrow firmness of tread deep in elligence & character good pursuits	Health and Spiritual endeavours

TABLE V REPRESENTING DEGREES OF

High	*Moderate*
Perfect Sattvic quality Small in bodies unaffected by severe ailments.	Seek consolation by comparison, Get consoled.

TABLE VI — SĀTTVIC TYPE REPRESENTING

Brahma type	Ṛṣi type	Indra type
Devoted to truth, Self controlled, Right discrimination knowledge, understanding, exposition and reply, possessed of memory, free from desire, anger, greed, conceit, infatuation, envy, dejection and intolerance, well disposed to all creatures.	Devoted to sacrifice study vows celibacy ,, hospitality Free from conceit and attachment, hate, infatuation, greed, anger, endowed with genius, eloquence, understanding, Retentive power.	Authoritative speech, Performance of sacrifice, brave, energetic, blameless action, foresight, pursuit of virtue, wealth and sense pleasure.

PSYCHIC QUALITY — VIMĀNA STHĀNA

Low
Big bodies, incapable of healing suffering, Depression of spirits giddiness, when confronted with fear, sorrow, temptation, delusion, hate of wrath awfulness etc.

PURE MIND — ŚARĪRA STHĀNA

Yama type	Varuṇa type	Kubera type	Gandharva type
Whose conduct is governed by considera-tion of pro-priety which does the right thing, is unassailable, good memory, authoritative, powerful, free from passion, attachment, envy, hate, infatuation.	Valiant, cour-ageous, clean, intolerant of uncleanliness performance of sacrifices, pursuit of sports where anger and fame are well placed.	Commands status, honour, luxuri-es, attendants, pursuit of plea-sure, virtue & wealth, recrea-tion, where mode of anger and fame are patent.	Dancing, music, poetry, stories, history, legend, women, recreation, fragrance, free from envy.

TABLE VII — RĀJASIC TYPE REPRESENTING SIX VARIETIES TINGED WITH

Asura	Rakṣasa	Piśāca
Valiant, Despotic, terrific, pitiless, fond of self adulation.	Cruel, intolerant of implacable hate, fond of flesh food, envious, indolent disposition, gluttony, bides his time and then strikes.	Great eater, keeping company with women in secret, a hater of cleanliness a coward, a bully, abnormal recreation and diet.

TABLE VIII — TĀMASIC TYPE REPRESENTING

Animal
Forbidding disposition, unintellectual, disgusting in behaviour dietic habits, abandoned to sex pleasure, given to somnolent habits.

VIOLENT ASPECT OF MIND
PASSION (ŚARĪRA STHĀNA)

Sarpa	Prıta	Śakuna
Brave, Excited, Indolent disposition, devoted to food and recreation.	Fond of food, Envious, lack of discrimination, covetous, disinclined to work, character, conduct and pastimes of painful disposition.	Strong attachment, delights in eating and recreation, fickle, intolerant.

DELUSION — ŚARĪRA STHĀNA

Fish	*Vegetable*
unintelligent, Greedy for food, of persistent likes and dislikes, of itinerant habits, fond of water.	Lazy, devoted to eating. devoid of mental faculties,

EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT: A CASE STUDY OF MALAYSIAN INDIANS

Dr. V. SURYANARAYAN* and V. UMA**

Since the end of the second world war, countries of the Third World have been devoting considerable attention to problems of education and development. The ruling elites, social scientists and educational planners hold the view that education, through its output of trained manpower, is one of the most important instruments of social change. The Planning Commission in India considers education "as the most important single factor in achieving rapid economic development and technological progress and in creating a social order founded on the values of freedom, social justice and equal opportunity".[1] The Education Commission appointed by the Government of India has highlighted that "In a world based on science and technology, it is education that determines the level of prosperity, welfare and security of the people. On the quality and number of persons passing out of our schools and colleges will depend our success in the great enterprise of national reconstruction, the principal objective of which is to raise the standard of living of our people".[2]

Several seminal studies have stressed the close nexus between education and economic development. V. N. Kothari and P. R. Panchamukhi point out "Education alters the attitude to work, consumption, preferences, saving propensities, economic rationality, adaptability, innovativeness, flexibility, attitude

* Dr. V. Suryanarayana is Professor in the Centre for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Madras.

** Tmt. V. Uma is Research Scholar, Centre for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Madras.

1. Planning Commission, *Third Five Year Plan* (New Delhi, n.d.), p. 573
2. Ministry of Education, *Education and National Development, Report of the Education Commission, 1964-66* (New Delhi, 1966), p. 3

towards family size and various social attitudes relevant from the economic point of view".[3] The pivotal role of education in the process of development has been described by M. S. Huq who points out that education influences economic and social development "by inducing change in technology through the systematic application of scientific and other knowledge, in skills and specialised knowledge for specialised tasks as a consequence of their division and differentiation, and in values and attitudes to provide the necessary incentives for increasing productive efficiency".[4]

During the last twenty five years of independence, Malaysia has made tremendous strides in the field of education,[5] but unfortunately the fruits of education have not percolated to all sections of Malaysia's plural society equitably. The Indian community, especially the Tamil children in the plantations, continues to be the most disadvantaged group as far as educational opportunities are concerned. The main focus of this article is on educational problems faced by the Malaysian Indians. In order to put the subject matter in proper perspective, it is necessary to keep in mind the socio-economic profile of the Indian community and also the peculiar characteristics of Malaysian educational system.

The Indians are the third largest ethnic group in Malaysia today after the indigenous Malays and immigrant Chinese. Of the estimated population of 11,849,000 in West Malaysia, the Malays constitute 6,384,000 or 53.9 per cent; the Chinese 4,136,000 or 34.9 per cent; the Indians 1,239,000 or 10.5 per cent

3. Quoted in K. Venkatasubramaniam, *Education and Economic Development in India—Tamilnadu, A Case Study* (New Delhi, 1980), p. 4

4. Muhammad Shamsul Huq, *Education, Manpower and Development in South and South-East Asia* (New Delhi, 1976), pp. 52-3

5. For excellent accounts of educational development in Malaysia refer 1) Francis Wong Yoy Kee and Ee Tiang Hong, *Education in Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur, 1975); 2) F. Y. K. Wong, ed., *Readings in Malaysian Education* (Kuala Lumpur, 1977) and 3) Eddy Lee, *Educational Planning in West Malaysia* (Oxford, 1972)

and others 90,000 or 0.7 per cent.[6] The overwhelming majority of Indians are Tamils who number 746,558 (80 percent); followed by North Indians (mainly Sikhs) 72,138 (7.7 per cent); Malayalis 44,199 (4.7 per cent); Telugus 31,332 (3.4 per cent); Ceylon Tamils 25,288 (2.7 per cent); Pakistanis (including Bangladeshis) 10,185 (1.1 per cent) and others 3,550 (0.4 per cent).[7] These regional differences are, no doubt, divisive factors; but, on the positive side, it must be pointed out, that over the years they have developed an "Indian identity" over and above their primordial loyalties. The policy of the Malaysian government to club all of them together as "Indian community", both for political and administrative purposes, has further given a fillip to this process.

Disadvantaged Ethnic Group

It has been pointed out by many commentators that the Indian community is the most disadvantaged racial group in Malaysia today.[8] Nat Colleta has characterised the Indian community as "Malaysia's forgotten people".[9] The Chinese are firmly entrenched and dominate Malaysian trade, industry and commerce; the position of the Malays has been steadily improving due to the energetic drive of the Malaysian government since 1969. In contrast, the economic profile of the Indians present a dismal picture. What causes greater concern is the fact that the Indians are not advancing as they should

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6. Government of Malaysia, *Fourth Malaysia Plan, 1981-85* (Kuala Lumpur, 1981), p. 74. In East Malaysia, comprising Sabah and Sarawak, the Indians number less than 1,000

7. R. Rajoo, "Communalism and Factionalism among Indians in Peninsular Malaya", Research paper presented in the International Seminar on India—Malaysia Relations organised by the Centre for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Madras, March 1980

8. *The New Economic Policy and Malaysian Indians: MIC Blueprint* (Kuala Lumpur, 1974) and *Declaration and Recommendations: Second Malaysian Indian Economic Seminar* (Kuala Lumpur, 1980)

9. Nat J. Colleta, "Malaysia's Forgotten People: Education, Cultural Identity and Socio-Economic Mobility among South Indian Plantation Workers" *Contribution to Asian Studies* (London, 1975), pp. 87-112

along with the other two races in the economic development of the country. Nearly 50 per cent of the Indian community has led an insular life in the plantations, while a good number of others eke out their living in the fringes of the urban areas. This fact has affected the manner and extent of their involvement in the economic development of the country.[10]

There are many reasons for this sorry state of affairs in which the Indian community finds itself today. In 1970, 47 per cent of the Indians were engaged in agriculture, the overwhelming majority of whom, 74 per cent, in plantations. The second area, where the Indians were concentrated was in services, mainly in the lower rungs and in personal services of all types, which provided employment to 24.8 per cent. The third was in commerce, 10.6 per cent, almost wholly in petty trading. The number of Indians and their contribution to the total share of employment in mining, manufacturing, construction and banking are insignificant to merit notice. While the number of Indians in public utilities is small, 2.3 per cent, their share in the total employment of this sector is large, 32.3 per cent; this is mainly in manual jobs.[11] In terms of overall occupations, the Indian position is not bright. Nearly 80 per cent of the Indians are to be found in manual jobs, mainly in unskilled and semi-skilled labour. Only 6.0 per cent of the Indians are found in administrative, professional and managerial categories.[12] The Second and Third Malaysia Plans did give a boost to the economy of the country and the general standard of living. But the tragic fact still remains that the Indians did not gain as much from the planned development as the other two races did. At the end of 1975, the Indians constituted 10.5 per cent of the total agricultural workers and 11.7 per cent in 1978, i.e. in 1978, 43.4 per cent of the Indians were still engaged in agricultural, mainly plantation work.[13] In the second sphere,

10. V. Manickavasagam, "Foreword", *MIC Blueprint*, n. 8
11. Ibid., pp. 6-8
12. Ibid.
13. Dato K. Pathmanabhan, "Employment—A Malaysian Indian Perspective", *Second Malaysian Indian Economic Seminar*, n. 8, pp. 62-73

in production, transport and other allied areas, the Indians in 1975 constituted 10.3 per cent; in 1978, it came down to 10.0 per cent i.e. a total of 26.0 per cent of the Indian workers still continued to earn their living in this profession.[14] As far as service workers are concerned, the Indians constituted 12.5 per cent in 1975 and 12.6 per cent in 1978 i.e. 9.6 per cent of the total Indian employed were engaged in this vocation.[15] As far as trade, sales and related workers are concerned, the Indians constituted 8.9 per cent of the total in 1975; it came down to 7.8 per cent in 1978.[16] As far as white-collar jobs, the clerical and related workers are concerned, the Indians formed 11.8 per cent in 1975; the figure came down to 11.5 per cent in 1978.[17] Only 7.1 per cent of the Indians are engaged in these vocations. As far as administrative and managerial categories are concerned, the Indians formed 7.1 per cent in 1975 and the percentage dropped to 6.2 per cent in 1978.[18] Only 0.8 per cent of the Indian community belong to this elitist group. In 1975, 10.8 per cent of the professional and technical services were Indians and it dropped to 10.6 per cent in 1978. It means that 5.6 per cent of the total Indian employed belonged to this category.[19]

The percentage of unemployment is the highest among the Indians. In 1962, Indian unemployment was more or less on par with other races and did not exceed 6 per cent.[20] By 1975, unemployment among the Indians had risen to an alarming 11.2 per cent, compared with 7.8 per cent for the Malays and 6.9 per cent for the Chinese. By 1978, general unemployment including that of the Indians, showed a downward trend. Unemployment among the Indians declined to 8.1 per cent, compared to 7.0 per cent for the Malays and 6.7 per cent for

14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. MIC Blueprint, n. 8, p. 18

the Chinese.[21] The share of the Indians in the professional spheres - doctors, engineers, teachers etc. - may at present appear large compared to the Indian share of the population. Most of them were recruited in the 1950's and 1960's. The number of Indians recruited to these professions now is very low, due to the preferential treatment given to the Malays in the matter of employment. Recruitment takes place in the ratio of 4:1 : for every four Malays, one non-Malay is taken. The Mid-Term Review of the Third Malaysia Plan shows that there had been progressive decline in the Indian share in the professional, managerial and even clerical employment. Indian share, as stated earlier, in the professional and technical categories was 10.8 per cent in 1975; it declined to 10.6 per cent in 1978. In the administrative and managerial sectors it was 7.1 per cent in 1975; it had gone down to 6.2 per cent in 1978. Among clerical and related workers, it was 11.8 per cent in 1975; it slumped to 11.5 per cent in 1978. This had happened despite the rise in actual employment opportunities in these services by nearly 65,000 new jobs from 1975 to 1978.[22]

The cumulative effect of unemployment and concentration of Indians in plantations and other lower level of jobs, is reflected in the low level of income of the Indians. The average Indian household income was M$ 304 per month in 1970, compared with M$ 172 for the Malays and M$ 394 for the Chinese. These average figures, however, conceal the seriousness of income disparities. 11.6 per cent of the Indian households are in the lowest income group, earning below M$ 100. 39 per cent of the households are in M$ 100-200 category. In other words, nearly half of the Indian households, are earning incomes below M$ 200 per month from the consolidated earnings of all members of the household. A further 31 per cent are in the income bracket of M$ 200-400 per month. Only 1.8 per cent of the Indian households have incomes above M$ 1,500 per month. In 1970, the mean Indian household income per year was M$ 1,350; which was M$ 281 less than

21. Dato K Pathmanabhan, n. 13

22. Ibid.

the Chinese and M$ 668 more than the Malays. In 1976 income at constant prices was M$ 2,940 for the Chinese, M$ 2,384 for the Indians and M$ 1,202 for the Malays. In other words, the disparity between the Chinese and the Indians have increased to M$ 556 and between the Chinese and Malays to M$ 1,738.[23]

Attention must also be given to the high level of poverty among the Malaysian Indians. According to the Third Malaysia Plan poverty among the Indians was as high as 65 per cent.[24] This high level of poverty is due to a nexus between health, food and nutritional aspects. Malnutrition leads to poor health and acts as an obstacle to individual development. The available indicators show the Indian position in an unfavourable way. Infant mortality rate is the highest among the Indians; 37.74 per cent as compared with 35.29 per cent for Malays and 21.23 per cent for the Chinese. Infant mortality below one year is also highest among the Indians (21.8 per cent compared to 20.7 per cent for the Malays and 15.6 per cent for the Chinese). The death rate among the Indians was 7.7 per cent compared with 6.2 per cent for the Malays and 5.9 per cent for the Chinese. Indians also have the lowest life expectancy rates, 61 for males and 67 for females compared to 67 for males and 69 for females among the Malays and 67 for males and 75 for females among the Chinese.[25]

Taking the ownership of national wealth, we find that the Indians are in the worst position. In 1970, Indians held only 1.0 per cent of the share capital of limited companies, while the Malays had 1.9 per cent. The Chinese controlled 22.5 per cent, but they were far behind the foreigners who controlled 60.7 per cent. Indians owned only M$ 52.4 million worth of shares out of a total of M$ 5,289 million. Despite the long

23. V. Suryanarayan, "Indians in Malaysia: The Neglected Minority", I. J. Bahadur Singh, ed., *Indians in Southeast Asia* (New Delhi, 1982), pp. 34-51

24. R. Rajoo, 'Poverty in the Malaysian Indian Community", *Second Malaysian Indian Economic Seminar*, n. 8, pp. 44-53

25. Ibid.

tradition of Indian business enterprise in Malaysia, the Indians have not yet developed an economic stake in their country. The Mid-Term Review of the Third Malaysia Plan as well as the Fourth Malaysia Plan do not give the racial breakdown of ownership of shares, but all indicators point out that there had been no appreciable change as far as Indian participation in the economic development of the country.[26]

To sum up, the persistence of poverty among the Indians is due to a variety of factors. The economic factor, concentration in low income jobs and the high incidence of unemployment have already been highlighted. Contributing to the poor positon is also the large size of the family, generally with five or six children. And this results in a situation where the family income has to be shared by a large number of members. The community also historically has been subjected to economic, social and cultural deprivations. Alcoholism is quite high and this acts as a drain not only on economic resources, but also on the average level of health. It also leads to broken homes and provides a bad example for children.[27] The Indian community also spends a lot on nonessential items like weddings, funerals and religious festivals.

Educational Problems

The dismal position of the Indian community, especially the Tamils, described above is due to poor educational attainments. Reference has already been made to the importance of education in the development of Third world countries. It is a means of upward social and economic mobility; an avenue of modernisation; an instrument to enrich cultural life and, above all, in the Malaysian context, a means of national unity and integration. Recognising the significance of education, the Malaysian government has expanded educational facilities considerably since independence. The importance which the government attaches to education can be understood from the

26. V. Suryanarayan, n. 23
27. T. Marimuthu, "The Illicit Samsu Problem in Malaysia", *Seminar on Health, Food and Nutrition* (Penang, 15-20 September, 1979)

budgetary figures of 1981, which show an allocation of M$ 2,805 million for education, M$ 1,700 million for defence, M$ 892 million for health, M$ 724 million for police and M$ 978 million for economic services.[28] But it is ironic that the fruits of education have not been shared equitably by all the communities; not only the Indians continue to be the most disadvantaged section at all levels of education, but their position has aetually worsened during recent years.

The present tragic state of affairs is the culmination of the *laissez faire* system of education fostered by the British imperialists in Malaya in the 19th and 20th centuries. Malay, Chinese and Tamil schools were started by private bodies to cater the needs of each community; the European missionaries followed soon and opened English schools to the children of urban intelligentsia. No attempts were made to have a uniform syllabus or give a Malayan orientation to the educational system. As a Malaysian scholar has rightly put it :

> Thus it was that a local child in an English school would recite Wordsworth's lines on the daffodils, never having seen them, sail up the Thames in imagination, accompany Bonnie Prince Charlie through Scottish burns and breas, and pay for imaginary purchases in pounds, shillings and pence. His opposite number in the Chinese medium school, on the other hand, referred to the "Middle Kingdom" as my country. He was taught to repeat the will of Sun Yat Sen, founder of the Chinese Republic, and he learnt to sing the Chinese national hymn. His cultural heritage came from China; his aspirations and loyalties remained, not with the land of his birth, but with the land of his fathers.[29]

While the affluent Indian families sent their children to English schools, the large mass of Tamil children went to

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28. *The 1981 Budget Speech* (Minister of Finance, Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah on October 17, 1980)

29. R. H. R. Wong, "Education and Problems of Nationhood", Wang Gung Wu, ed., *Malaysia* (London, 1964), pp. 199–209

Tamil primary schools started by the plantation owners reluctantly to conform to government rules.[30] In many of these schools, there were no qualified teachers and Kanganys and literate labourers taught the children on a part-time basis. Since employment was available for children in the plantations once they completed ten years the parents also saw no benefit in educating them. As a result, majority of children did not even complete primary education fully. There was also no provision for higher education after primary level. All teaching was in Tamil; English and Malay were not taught, making children, ill-equipped for higher education.

The *laissez faire* in education was given up only on the eve of independence. The Malayan nationalist leaders, realising the imperative necessity to introduee a national system of education, appointed a Commission under the Chairmanship of Tun Abdul Razak. The recommendations of the Razak Commission and the Education Review Committee appointed four years later constitute the bedrock of the present Malaysian educational system. The government has brought all educational institutions under its control and has introduced a common syllabus with a national orientation. Since the government is committed to sustain the cultures of various communities, it provides for free primary education for all children of school-going age and this is provided in Malay, English, Chinese and Tamil as the medium of instruction. It was also decided in 1957 that secondary education in assisted schools will be in two media, Malay and English. It must be pointed out that it is the government's policy to make Malay the national language and the sole medium of instruction from the secondary level. After 1969, the Malaysian government has gone ahead with great determination in this programme; a revolution has taken place and Malay has become the medium of instruction in all national schools. The Malaysian Universities have also progressively switched over to Malay as the medium of

30. For a good account of educational development of the Indian community, refer Sinnappah Arasaratnam, *Indians in Malaysia and Singapore* (Kuala Lumpur, 1979), Revised Edition, pp. 178-195

instruction. With this general background, it is now proposed to analyse the problems of Indian students at various stages of education.

Primary Education

Due to their disadvantageous socio-economic background, the vast majority of plantation children are not adequately prepared for going to the schools in terms of social, linguistic and cognitive skills. Most of them do not attend nursery and kindergarten classes and lack the pre-primary educational skills, which the urban children generally possess. Standard I is the first educational experience for majority of the Indian children and they are flabbergasted by the behaviour of the relatively affluent Chinese and Malay students. The teachers have low expectations from these students and generally they are the most neglected in the class. The psychological damage is immense and the children develop an inferiority complex.

In 1975, there were 612 primary schools (Tamil medium) in Malaysia with a total enrolment of 80,404 students, employing 3,448 teachers. More than 85 per cent of these Tamil schools are located in the plantations and they cater nearly fifty per cent of Malaysian Indian students. The majority of the reminder are enrolled in National Schools located in the fringes of the urban areas. These schools, particularly those in the plantations, are small and ill-equipped. 87.5 per cent of them have an enrollment of less than 200 students, the bulk of them below 100. Many of these schools lack even the basic facilities such as proper buildings, playgrounds, toilet and library. The teachers are generally not qualified and not properly trained. Further. in some of these schools, a single teacher looks after multiple classes. Their morale, therefore, is very low. The teaching in these schools is in no way good. The scholars, Paul D. Wiebe and S. Mariappen, who have done a detailed study of the estate schools in Pudthukuchi have pointed out that the teaching standards in these schools are woefully poor:

> ... the quality of instruction is in many ways inadequate... the process of education usually involves memorisation

and the learning of answers only, seldom an encouragement to question and to realize the excitement of learning.[31]

The ill-equipped schools, combined with poor quality teachers, compound the disadvantages of Indian students who already suffer from poor income, poor nutrition and poor motivation. As a Malaysian Indian scholar has rightly put it, "High incidence of poverty, low incomes, high unemployment rates, low nutritional levels, low self-respect and motivation, feelings of helplessness and despair and other situational factors do not facilitate the children's educational persistence and achievement in school".[32]

The over-crowded and pitiable living conditions of the plantation workers have been described vividly by Ravindra K. Jain in his study on *South Indians on the Plantation Frontier in Malaya.* Jain describes the house consisting of a single room with a floor space of 10 × 12 ft., raised above the ground and resting on four stoned pillars. The ground space below the room was used for cooking, taking meals and for storing things. No furniture was provided and there was no electricity.[33]

Due to the poor socio-economic status of the Indian community the schools do not unfortunately fulfil adequately the instructional objective. On the other hand, it generally performs the custodial function. In vital subjects like Mathematics, Science and *Bahasa Malaysia,* the standard of instruction is far from satisfactory. It is, therefore, not surprising that the *Drop out Report* highlighted the fact that the Indian students had the highest rate of drop out at every stage of educational ladder. The *Drop out Study* of 1973 has pointed

31. Paul D. Wiebe and S. Mariappan, *Indian Malaysians. The View from the Plantations* (New Delhi, 1978), p. 170
32. T. Marimuthu, "Education and Malaysian Indians", *Second Malaysian Indian Economic Seminar,* n. 8, pp. 54–61
33. Ravindra K. Jain, *South Indians on the Plantation Frontier in Malaya* (London, 1970), p. 18

out the educational status of the Indian students in the following words:

1. More Indian youths drop out of school than do either Malay or Chinese youths;

2. The enrolment rates of the Indians are lower than those among the Malays and the Chinese in both urban and rural areas;

3. Indian youths are less motivated in their studies than are either the Malays or the Chinese; and

4. The Indian community is the poorest of the three major communities, a fact contributing to the relatively low rates of enrolment among its youth.[34]

The decline is greatest after Standard IV and comparatively more than their counterparts in Chinese and Malay communities. 22 per cent of the Indian students drop out before they complete the primary stage, compared to 12 per cent of the Malays and 10 per cent of the Chinese.[35]

In 1978, in the urban areas, 49.2 per cent of the Indian children attended Tamil schools, 41.0 per cent attended former English primary schools, 8.8 per cent attended Malay primary schools and 1.0 per cent attended Chinese primary schools.[36] Relatively the urban Indian children are better off, but those from the poorer families naturally suffer from serious disadvantages. As Dr. Marimuthu puts it:

> Increasing social disorganisation amongst the poor urban Indians resulting in broken homes, high rate of alcoholism, vagrancy and prostitution influence the poor urban youth to be a low achiever and a potential drop-out. They may also resort to delinquent acts and petty crime.[37]

34 Ministry of Education, *Kajian Keciciran* (Drop-out Study) (Kuala Lumpur, 1974), pp. 18 28

35. MIC Blueprint, n. 8, p. 30

36. Marimuthu, n. 8

37. Ibid.

Mention must also be made of the environmental disadvantages which the Indian children generally face. The parents generally do not take any interest in the educational activities of their children. Many houses are overcrowded and there is no proper place to study. Constant bickering and alcoholism pollute the atmosphere at home. Magazines and newspapers are not found. Parents also do not give any extra attention to students in the form of tuitions. A Malaysian scholar has described the atmosphere in a typical plantation home after sunset as follows :

> Usually there is one lamp hanging from the ceiling in the centre of the room... most of the family is crowded into this living room after dinner... a lot of chatting and gossipping takes place... It is also common to find one or two men (and not un-commonly women too) drunk with toddy or samsu (illegally brewed alcohol), quarrelling with their wives, beating up the children and generally making a nuisance of themselves. The industrious student would have to do his homework and preparation for the next day's school work in this atmosphere of noise and confusion.[38]

Secondary Education

As mentioned earlier, 22 per cent of the Indian students do not complete their primary education. Another 20 per cent stop their education at the primary level and do not proceed to the secondary schools. At the lower secondary stage itself, one third of the Indian students drop out. Thus by the end of the ninth year of the school, 60 per cent of the Indian students have dropped out of the educational system. As a Malaysian Indian Congress document puts it, "The Government's assurance of nine years of education for every child is, therefore, not achieved for the Indian children".[39]

38. Jo eph Paul Malaiamauv, "Some Aspects of the Education of Plantation Worker's Children", Graduation Exercise, University ef Malaya, 197:, pp 15 6

39. MIC Blueprint, n. 8, p. 33

The Indian children of the Tamil schools have to attend the "Remove Class" before they move over to secondary schools. Here again it must be mentioned, the Indian children are generally worst off. With their dismal background, these already handicapped children are generally not attended to properly by majority of teachers. Their attainment in Mathematics and *Bahasa Malaysia*, because of the ill-equipped system of teaching in the primary stage, do not show any sign of improvement in the "Remove Class". These students also cannot cope with other compulsory subjects like History, Geography, English language and Science and many of them drop out in the "Remove Class" itself. Thus, as a result of a series of unfortunate mishaps, Indian children from plantations are generally sacrificed at the altar of education.

Only 12 per cent of all the Indian children in the upper secondary school age are actually enrolled in schools. The Indian children who generally successfully complete the LCE/SRP are mainly from the English medium schools. Over 90 per cent of the children who hail from the Tamil schools fail to proceed to the upper secondary level. Those qualifying for the science stream are even fewer.

The small number of Indian students who take the MCE/SPM examination do not constitute a large base for potential students for higher education. Naturally very few manage to enter VI form. In 1973, for example, according to a MIC report, there were only 714 Indian students in Form VI.[40] If the present stituation is allowed to continue, it would be impossible for the Indian students to qualify themselves in large number in tertiary and higher education.

Tertiary Education

The percentage of Indians in institutions of higher education have been declining during recent years. The position is illustrated by the two tables given below:

40. Ibid.

TABLE I

MALAYSIA: ENROLMENT IN TERTIARY EDUCATION BY RACE AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION, 1975 AND 1978

COURSES	1975					1978				
	M	C	I	O	TOTAL	M	C	I	O	TOTAL
Certificate Courses Sub-total	898	289	29	5	1,221	1.274	692	82	5	2,053
%	(73.5)	(23.7)	(2.4)	(0.4)	(100.0)	(62.1)	(33.7)	(4.0)	(0.2)	(100.0)
Diploma Courses Sub-total	10.505	1,223	96	21	11.835	10,873	2,307	187	17	13,384
%	(88.8)	(10.3)	(0.7)	(0.2)	(100.0)	(81.3)	(17.2)	(1.4)	(0.1)	(100.0)
Degree Courses Sub-total	8 600	5,373	846	189	15,008	11,540	5,292	1,053	179	18,064
%	(57.3)	(24.5)	(5.6)	(1.3)	(100,0)	(63.9)	(29.3)	(5.8)	(1.0)	(100.0)
TOTAL	20,003	6,885	961	215	28,064	23,687	8,291	1,322	201	33,501
	(71.3)	(24.5)	(3.4)	(0.8)	(100 0)	(70.7)	(24.7)	(4.0)	(0.6)	(100.0)

Source: T. Marimuthu, "Education and Malaysian Indians", *Second Malaysian Indian Economic Seminar* (Kuala Lumpur, 1980), p. 59.

TABLE II

ENROLMENT OF STUDENTS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MALAYA
BY RACE AND ACADEMIC YEAR

Year	Malays		Chinese		Indians		Ceylonese		Eurasians		Others		Total
N %	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
1959/60	138	8.7	1057	66.0	232	14.5	110	6.9	31	1.9	32	2.0	1600
1960/61	86	5.2	1196	72.9	213	13.0	90	5.5	27	1.6	29	1.8	1641
1961 62	217	21.48	585	57.92	120	11.88	62	6.14	14	1.39	12	1.19	1010
1962/63	274	20.43	786	58.61	161	12.01	82	6.12	16	1.19	22	1.64	1341
1963/64	350	20.62	1042	60.02	211	12.16	75	4.32	26	1.50	24	1.38	1736
1964,65	543	24 41	1330	59 78	211	9.48	100	4.49	18	0.81	23	1.03	1736
1965/66	721	25.43	1669	58.87	292	10.30	103	3 63	24	8.85	25	0.92	2835
1966/67	1038	28.91	2034	56.45	329	9.13	142	3.94	32	0.89	28	0.78	3603
1967,68	1401	30.72	2559	56.12	377	8.47	159	3.49	32	0.70	32	0.70	4560

Year	Malays		Chinese		Indians		Ceylonese		Eurasians		Others		Total
N %	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
1968/69	1825	32.8	3102	55.7	402	7.2	175	3.2	39	0.70	23	0.40	5566
1969/70	2373	35.57	3532	52.94	501	7.51	177	2.65	35	0.52	54	0.81	6672
1970/71	3033	39.0	3875	49.83	565	7.26	191	2.46	28	0.36	85	1.09	7777
1971/72	3737	3.73	3892	45.55	620	7.26	176	2.07	26	0.30	93	1.09	8545
1972/73	4151	47.5	3762	43.0	577	6.6	140	1.6	20	0.20	98	1.10	8748
1973/74	3745	47.89	3286	41.97	536	6.85	117	1.49	18	0.23	123	1.57	7829
1974/75	3556	46.83	3272	43.09	512	6.74	99	1.30	18	0.21	139	1.83	7594
1975/76	3407	46.59	3228	44.14	448	6.13	80	1.09	11	0.15	139	1.9	7313

Source: T. Marimuthu, "Malaysian Indians and Higher Education", *Ulangtahun Ketigapuluh 1946-1977* (Kuala Lumpur, 1976), p. 71.

The most serious consequence of this shortfall in the educational system would be that Indians in the years to come would not be able to provide personnel in middle level technical and highly professionalised bodies. This outflow would also not be adequate to provide manpower to achieve racial balance in employment in the public and private sectors.

The low enrolment in institutions of higher learning is the result of inherent weaknesses in primary and secondary schools and low levels of income, poor motivation and lack of facilities. It must also be mentioned that, until very recently, there were no well thought out programmes, priorities and support to overcome the initial handicaps and disadvantages of the Indian students in all levels of educational system.

With most of the Indian children coming from rural and agricultural background, it can perhaps be argued that Indians could make a contribution in agriculture and teaching, where most of the urban dwellers are reluctant to enter. Unfortunately Indian enrolment in these disciplines also had been very low. In a survey of two Teachers Training colleges it was found out that Indian enrolment was below 3 per cent. In the Agricultural college, Indian enrolment had been very low, less than 0.5 per cent in 1970 and 0.9 per cent in 1973. In the University of Agriculture, Indian enrolment is only 2.6 per cent. Thus agriculture, where 47 per cent of the Indians were employed in 1970, will not be showing any worthwhile contributions from the Indian community if the present trend is allowed to continue.

The enrolment of Indians in other important disciplines is also very low. In 1973 the Indians accounted for only 3.28 per cent in Engineering; 3.34 per cent in Agriculture and Surveying and 7.81 per cent in Science. In Diploma and Certificate courses, the position was even worse, with less than 1 per cent of the total enrolments in 1973.[42]

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41. Ibid , pp 33-5

42. Ibid., p. 35

The figures given above pertain only to educational institutions run by the government. It does not include figures for local private institutions and overseas institutions. If those institutions are included, then the position of the Indians seem to be little better. In 1978, the overall percentage for tertiary education was — Malaya 70.7 per cent, Chinese 24.7 per cent Indians 4.0 per cent and others 0.6 per cent.[43] Here it is significant to make a distinction between students who are studying courses which are recognised by the government and those whose qualifications are not recognised by the government. Unfortunately, majority of Indian students study in tertiary educational institutions in Malaysia and abroad, especially in India, whose degrees are not recognised by the Malaysian government.

Malaysian Students in India

A large number of Malaysian Indian students come to India every year for their education.[44] The causes that make India more attractive for education are: education is least expensive in India among all the developing countries; the admission policy is comparatively liberal and, more than anything else the congenial socioeconomic environment which help the Malaysian Indian students feel perfectly at home. After the Iranians, the Malaysian students are the single largest group of overseas students in India. It has been estimated that approximately 6,000 Malaysian students are studying in India in different schools, colleges, Universities and private educational institutions. They are undergoing training in different courses ranging from Medicine and Technology to Catering, History and Music. Many of them, naturally, are of Tamil origin and are concentrated in Tamilnadu. As only very few scholarships are available, most of them are self-financing.

43. Marimuthu, n. 8, p. 59

44. For a good account of the problems of Malaysian students in India, refer M. J. Das, "Malaysian Students in India,', paper presented in the International Seminar on India—Malaysia Relation Centre for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Madras, 1980

The Indian University degrees in Arts, Science, Commerce, Law and Education are not recognised by the Malaysian government. The curious fact is that 80 per cent of the Malaysian students are in these disciplines and when they return they face the problem of recognition of their degrees. Either they swell the army of unemployed or take up jobs for lesser pay. The Malaysian Government has recognised the following degrees in few colleges. They are Degrees in Medicine, Veterinary Science, Civil Engineering, Metallurgical Engineering, Electrical Engineering, Naval Architecture, Electrical Technology, Electrical Communication and Marine Engineering. But, at the same time, it must be pointed out that the degrees of all the colleges and Universities in these disciplines are not recognised. Out of the 108 Medical Colleges in India only 57 Medical College degrees are recognised, and in the same way, in other disciplines, Mechanical Engineering-5, Metallurgical Engineering-5; Electrical Engineering-1; Marine Engineering-1; Naval Arehitecture-1; Pharmacy-2; Veterinary Science-2 and Forestry Management-1 are recognised. The strange result of this policy is that while the Medical degrees of Madras Medical College and Tanjavur Medical College are recognised, the degrees of the Chingleput Medical College, also affiliated to Madras University, are not recognised.

The above picture of the educational system of the Indian community presents a dismal situation. If the Indians, especially the Tamils in the estates, have to progress and take their rightful place in Malaysia, the Malaysian government has to recognise the disadvantageous position of the estate workers and provide the needed remedies by giving preferential treatment in matters of admission and scholarships. It has been rightly pointed out by the Murad Committee that little improvement has been made in the position of the disadvantaged sections in Malaysia in spite of increased allocation for education. To quote the Murad Report:

> We have certainly not reached the poor - the disadvantaged - whose already disadvantaged status is further reinforced by the disproportionate allocation of

> resources. The outcome of this unequal allocation of resources is of course an unequal product.[45]

Role of the Malaysian Indian Congress

The question may legitimately be asked – to what extent has the Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC) been able to safeguard and advance the interests of the Indian community in the vital field of education. The tragic fact has to be stated that the MIC has not been able to fulfil its obligations to the Indian community. Tun Sambanthan, who was the President of the MIC for a long period of 17 years and occupied important positions in the Alliance political set up and also in the Malaysian cabinet completely ignored the vital stakes of the Indian community in the field of education. Sambanthan preferred to ignore and brush aside all problems under the carpet and adopted a tough line against his critics within the Indian community rather than allow his relations with Malay leaders to be impaired. Sambanthan was succeeded by Manickavasagam as the President of the MIC in 1972. Manickavasagam tried to energise the Party and under his leadership the Party leaders paid some attention to the problems facing the Indian community. The MIC Blueprint, published in 1974, was a bold and frank appraisal of various problems faced by the Indian community including education. The Blueprint identified the problems clearly and put forward various suggestions to remedy the situation. Tun Sri Manickavasagam died in October 1979 and was succeeded by Datuk Sami Velu as the President of the MIC. The Indian community has pitched high hopes in Datuk Sami Velu. He has considerable goodwill both within the Indian community and also among the Malays and Chinese and has also considerable influence within the Malaysian cabinet. Soon after assuming leadership of the Party, Sami Velu organised the Second Malaysian Indian Economic Seminar in July 1980 to analyse the plethora of problems faced by the Indian community including education. The Congress has made a number of

45. Suryanarayan, n. 23

suggestions to the government, which include amalgamation of smaller schools into viable educational units; better educational facilities for Tamil schools; relaxation of entry qualifications so that the proportion of Indian students form at least 10 per cent in all educational institutions and fair and objective consideration of Indian degrees for recognition.[46]

The MIC has also, in furtherance of these objectives initiated various self help measures like education fund for needy students; hostels in different towns; assistance to students seeking admission in Universities; free coaching classes; an Institute of Technology in Seremban; an Academy to train up Indian youth and special fund for the benefit of Malaysian students in India. It must, however, be pointed out that all these are just drops in the ocean and have touched only the fringes of the problem.

The Indian community in Malaysia is at the crossroads today. If the present situation is allowed to drift and deteriorate, the community would suffer untold damages and would be left behind in the economic and educational advancement of the country. If the present hardships are to be overcome, it is imperative that the Indian community must re-evaluate its role and chalk out a new destiny by sinking its differences and working as a team. The minority character of the Indian community and its vulnerable position makes such a task all the more urgent and imperative. The Malaysian government must also consider the educational problems of the Indian community, especially the estate workers, with greater sympathy and understanding and ensure that the Indians at least obtain a share equal to their proportion of population.

46. Second Malaysian Indian Economic Seminar. n. 8, pp. 6-7

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THE DOCTRINE OF KARMA IN THE EARLY UPANIṢADS

SRI Y. KRISHAN

The *Upaniṣads* exhibit an attitude of ambivalence in their exposition of the doctrine of *karma*. On the one hand the *upaniṣads* establish and uphold *karma* as a moral law of good and evil which forms the basis of Indian ethics. At the same time they teach how *karmas* can be destroyed 'or arrested and rendered sterile or one can obtain release from their binding force.

In the *upaniṣads karma* as a law of rewards and retribution for good and evil acts replaces the *yajña karma* or sacrifices of the *Brāhmaṇas* for attainment of human desire for material prosperity and physical well being. This law explains the cosmic phenomenon of inequality and suffering as a consequence of *karmas*. This forms the basis of Indian ethical discipline.

All *karma*, whether good or evil, is also deemed to be bad in the ultimate sense: it is a bond and source of bondage leading to transmigration and rebirth and the consequential suffering inherent in existence. The *upaniṣads* expound the means to achieve *mokṣa* or release from the bondage of *karma*. In a sense this trend is anti-*karma*, being life-negating aiming to bring the life process to an end. The *upaniṣads* draw a distinction between good, (*śubha, sukṛta, puṇya*) and evil (*aśubha, duṣkṛta, pāpa*) acts. *Bṛhad. up.* III.2.13 says: *puṇyo vai puṇyena karmaṇā bhavati pāpaḥ pāpeneti*: By good deeds indeed one becomes good, evil by evil deeds. Again *Bṛhad. up.* IV.4.5 tellingly distinguishes between good and evil:

> *yathākārī yathācārī tathā bhavati; sādhukārī sādhur bhavati,*
> *pāpakārī pāpo bhavati; puṇyaḥ puṇyena-*
> *karmaṇā bhavati, pāpaḥ pāpena* |

According as one acts, according as one behaves, so does he become. The doer of good becomes good, the doer of evil

becomes evil. One becomes virtuous by virtuous action, bad by bad action. *Praśna up.* III.7 says: *puṇyena puṇyam lokam nayati pāpena pāpam ubhābhyāmeva manuṣya lokam.* Virtuous acts lead to virtuous world, evil acts to the sinful world and both (such acts) lead to the world of men. *Kaṭha up.* II.11.7 explains *yonim anye prapadyante śarīratvāya dehinaḥ | Sthāṇu-manye anusamyanti yathākarma yathāśrutam |* Some souls are reborn as sentient creatures, others as stationary objects according to their deeds and according to their thoughts. The *Kauṣītakī up.* I.2 links rebirths to a person's *karmas*:

> *sa iha kīṭo vā, patango vā, matsyo vā,*
> *śakunir vā, simho vā, varāho vā,*
> *paraśvān vā, śārdūlo vā, puruṣo vā,*
> *anyo vā teṣu sthāneṣu pratyājāyate*
> *yathā karma yathā vidyām'*

"Either as a worm, or as an insect, or as a fish, or as a bird, or as a lion, or as a boar, or as a snake, or as a tiger, or as a person, or as some other in this or that condition, he is born again according to his deeds, according to his knowledge......" Likewise the *Maitrī up.* III.1 reiterates that the fruits of good and evil *karma* (*sitāsitaḥ karma phala*) lead to good and evil birth (*sad-asad yonim*). The *Śvet. up.* V.7 clearly makes the doer of an act as the bearer of the consequences of that act: *phala karma kartā kṛtasya tasyai va sa copabhoktā.* Further the effect or consequence of a *karma* is a limited potential. *Bṛhad. up.* III.8.10 proclaims that the fruits of fire offerings (*yajñas*) and penances (*tapaḥ*) for many thousand years are all transitory or impermanent (*antavat*). *Chānd. up.* VIII. 1.6 says: "Just as here on earth the world which is earned by work perishes, even so there in the other world, the world which is earned by righteous deeds perishes: *tadyatheha karmajito lokaḥ kṣiyate evamevāmutra puṇyajito lokaḥ kṣiyate.*

Thus in the *upaniṣadic* texts we see the formulation of the doctrine of *karma*:

(i) good acts produce good results, evil acts produce evil results;

(ii) good acts lead to happiness, bad acts lead to unhappiness and misery.

(iii) the results or fruits which any *karma* can produce are limited and hence the *karmas* are liable to exhaust themselves.

(iv) he who does an act reaps its consequences.

While the *upaniṣads* established a powerful moral law of *karma*, they also discounted the utility of good *karmas*; in fact the *karmas* are considered to be responsible for transmigration and rebirth. Hence they teach the means to escape the bondage of *karmas*, for the following reasons:

(i) All life suffers from certain infirmities: *Jarā* (old age) and *maraṇa* (death). Even a person, who has committed no evil whatsoever and in fact has done excellent deeds, is liable to suffer from old age and death. Old age and death are considered evil.

(ii) The good or merit earned by an individual is necessarily limited in its duration. All the doers (*kartās*) are *bhoktās* (experiencers): while they are exhausting the results of their past actions, they accumulate fresh *karmas* by their new actions as *kartās* and this chain continues. In other words, like the external world the potentiality of *karmas* is *anitya*, it is not abiding; it is essentially transient. So merit (*puṇya*) and demerit (*pāpa*) both produce sorrow. *Chānd. up.* VIII.12.1 emphasises that there is no freedom from pleasure and pain for one who is embodied: *śarīrasya sataḥ priyāpriyayorapahatiḥ*. All *karmas* are therefore *pāpman*, evil, *mala*, impurity.

So the *upaniṣads* shift their emphasis from doing good deeds, *puṇya karma* to annihilation of the deeds so that liberation or *mokṣa* from transmigration and rebirth can be attained.

Thus the *Kaṭha up.* I.ii.5 says that the ignorant go round and round (*pariyanti mūḍhā*) in this world. *Kaṭha* I.ii.6 proclaims a person who thinks that there is only this world

and no world hereafter, *ayaṁ loko nāsti paraḥ*, due to ignorance is subject to repeated births and deaths. *Muṇḍ up.* III.1.10 states that a pure person, a person of excellent conduct (*Viśuddhasattva*) whose mind seeks fulfilment of its wishes (*manasā saṁvibhāti*) and craves (*kāmayati*) to obtain various objects of desire or enjoyment (*Kāmān*) fulfils them and attains them. *Muṇḍ up.* III.2.2 adds that a person who covets desirable objects (*Kāmān Kāmayate*) is born with those desires. *Praśna up.* I.9 observes that those who perform *iṣṭāpūrta, Vedic* sacrifices (*iṣṭa*) and charitable works (*pūrta*) come back to the world (*punaḥ āvartante*) that is, are reborn. *Praśna up.* III.3 teaches that rebirth is the product of mental desires: *manokṛtena āyāti asmin śarīre*: life comes to this body through the actions of ths mind (however noble). So *Praśna up.* V.3-5 and 7 proclaims that the recitation of the *mantras* of the *Ṛg Veda* leads to this world (and brings about birth as a human being), practice of austerity (*tapas*), self control, continence (*brahmacarya*), faith (*śraddhā*) can only bring him (worldly) greatness; the recitation of the *mantras* of the *yajurveda* leads to the intermediate world, the world of the moon, from which he is born again in this world; the recitation of the *mantras* of the *Sāmaveda* leads to the world of Brahmā (which again is a temporary abode).

The *upaniṣads* find an answer for this situation in cultivating detachment, *tyāga*; desirelessness (*akāmatāḥ*). So *Bṛhad up.* IV.4.7 says that a mortal becomes immortal only when all the desires have totally left him (*sarve pramucyante kāmāḥ*). *Chānd up.* VII.26.2 says that he who sees *ātman* everywhere does not see death, nor illness nor any sorrow: *na paśyo mṛtyuṁ paśyati na rogaṁ nota duhkham.* Again *Chānd.* VIII.4.1 reiterates that *ātman* is unaffected by old age, death, sorrow, merit or demerit: *na jarā na mṛtyur na śoko na sukṛtam na duṣkṛtam sarve pāpmāno. Kaṭha up.* II. 3.14-15 says that when all the desires *kāmāḥ* (which are the source of *karmas*) clinging to one's heart are discarded, then a mortal attains the supreme (*Brahman*) and becomes immortal (*martyaḥ amṛtaḥ bhavati*). *Kaṭha up.* II.3.18 reiterates that Naciketā

attains *Brahman*, the Supreme Reality, after he becomes free from desire which leads to *Karma* (good and evil). *Īśa up.* 1 teaches renunciation (*tyāga*) and giving up of covetousness (*gṛdhaḥ*). *Muṇḍ. up.* III. 2.1 is more explicit. It says that desirelessness (*akāmaḥ*) enables a person to transcend the human seed, that is, to overcome rebirth and transmigration. *Muṇḍ up.* III.2.2 emphasises that a person who has fulfilled all his desires (*paryāptakāmasya*) and III.2.5-6 who is free from attachment (*vītarāgaḥ*) attains liberation (*parimucyanti sarve*) at the time of death (*parāntakāle*).

It is natural the *upaniṣads* derive the logical, though extreme conclusion that, on attaining liberation a man is free from good and evil; his existing *karmas* are destroyed or become sterile and new *karmas* are abortive; therefore he is free to act anyway he likes. *Chānd* IV. 14-3 says "just as water does not cling to lotus leaf so also sin does not cling to him who knows *Brahman*". Again *Chānd up.* VII. 25-2, VIII. 4-3 and VIII. 5-4 states that he who attains the *ātman* becomes self sovereign (*svarāṭ bhavati*) and becomes free to act as he wishes in all the worlds, *sarveṣu lokeṣu kāmacāro bhavati*. According to *Chānd. up.* VIII 1-5 and 7-1, the *ātman* is, *inter-alia*, free from evil, *eṣa ātmāpahatapāpmā*. *Kaṭha up.* II. 3.18 says that a person on attaining *Brahman* becomes free from vice and virtue (*Brahmaprāptaḥ virajaḥ*). *Kena up.* IV. 9 reiterates *yo vā etāmevam vedāpahatya pāpmānam* any one who knows this (*Brahman*) dispels sin.

The *Śvetāśvatara upaniṣad* strikes a radically different note. No doubt it fully accepts the law of *karma*. *Śvet. up.* V 7 & 12 avers that the doer of the deeds wanders about and obtains rebirth according to his deeds but it also postulates an omnipotent creator and the doctrine of grace. It believes in an Īśvara Lord, who is the great refuge of all *sarvasva śaraṇam bṛhat* (*Śvet. up.* III. 17) and that a person attains immortality when blessed by him (the Lord) or at his pleasure (*Śvet. up.*[1]

1. *Śvet. up.* IV 20 says that the protection of Rudra is sought because he is gracious.

I.6). It teaches that a person becomes freed from sorrow through the grace of the creator. *Vita śoko dhātuḥ prasādān mahimānam* Śvet. *up.* III. 20. Again it says that a man is helpless or powerless and becomes freed from sorrow by seeing the Lord. *yadā paśyaty ...... īśam asya mahimānam iti vīta śokaḥ*. *Śvet. up.* IV. 7. So the seeker of liberation according to *Śvet. up.* VI. 18 seeks his refuge.

Thus the *Śvetāśvatara upaniṣad* seeks to abrogate the law of *Karma* so far as the devotees of the Lord are concerned. *Śvet. up.* I. 7 avers that the knowledge of *Brahman* frees a person from birth, *yoniḥ muktaḥ*; *Śvet up* I. 11 (and also II. 15, IV. 16, V. 13 & 8, VI. 13) proclaim that knowledge of God leads to falling of the fetters and cessation of birth and death: *jñātvā devam sarva pāśāpahāniḥ kṣīnaiḥ kleśair janma mṛtyu prahāniḥ.* So in *Śvet. up.* VI. 6 God is described *inter alia* as the producer of good and remover of evil *dharmāvaham pāpanudam*; in *Śvet. up.* VI. 11 he is called ordainer of *karmas*: *karmādhyakṣa.*

Thus the *Śvetāśvatara upaniṣad* postulated a God whose grace to his devotees provided a way of escape from the law of *karma.*

The *upaniṣads* propagated contradictory trends of thought. They established a doctrine of *karma*, of rewards and retribution, which is strongly ethical in character; inequality and suffering are explained as consequences of good and evil action. The doctrine of *Karma* was a philosophy of self-effort as the means of improving one's lot.

Simultaneously they maintain that rebirth and transmigration *per se* are bad in that (i) certain suffering is inherent in life such as craving or desires, old age and death, however meritorious a person's deeds might be (ii) the consequences of deeds already done have limited potentiality. Once actions have borne fruit, happiness and suffering caused by those *Karmas* come to an end but the process of fresh accumulation of

karmas 'and their fruition continues. Thus it is an endless chain of birth and death, of happiness and suffering.

Escape from this cycle of existence, subject to suffering, lay not in doing *karma* but in *karma nirodha* suppression of *karmas*. One way to achieve this is by attaining the state of desirelessness, non - attachment, renunciation, which, in effect, would result in cessation of worldly activity. Another way was that enunciated in the *Śvetāśvatara upaniṣad*, the path of devotion and divine grace and seeking refuge in Him.

It is paradoxical that the *upaniṣads* which postulated *karma* as a law of ethical discipline also seek escape from the operation of that law either in renunciation of worldly activity or in the grace of god. It is naive to explain away the paradox by justifying the law of *Karma* in the context of the empirical reality and which loses its validity with reference to transcendental reality, or through an omnipotent creator who can liquidate *Karmas*. In doing so the *upaniṣads* unwittingly blurred the distinction between good and evil, *duṣkṛta* and *sukṛta* pregnant for the growth of antinomianism in Indian philosophy and religion.

MUD MORTAR TECHNIQUE IN ANCIENT PUMPUHAR

BY

S. K. PADMANABHAN, B.E., M.I.S.A.E.,

Executive Engineer (Agricultural Engineering)

Agricultural Machinery Training Centre, Tiruchy

Pūmpuhār the celebrated port of the early cholas in the Tamil country was one of the leading ports at the beginning of the christian era. The word 'Puhār' in Tamil stands for a place where a river enters a sea. Pūmpuhār is the place where the Kāvēri joins the Bay of Bengal.

This city was called by various names in ancient times, Pūmpuhār, Kāvērippaṭṭinam, Kākanti, Campāpathi, Cholapaṭṭinam and Khaveris Emporiun. This city is described in glowing terms in Tamil literary works like the Silappatikāram and Maṇimēkalai. Puhār was ruled by eminent kings like Toḍittōṭ-Cembian, Manunīticho|an, Muchukundan, Karikālan and Kiḷḷivaḷ-avan. Puhār was an important Buddhist centre from 2nd century B.C. onwards.

At the close of his "ABHIDHAMMĀVATĀRA" BUDDH-ADATTA gives a glowing account of Kāvērippaṭṭana with its concourse of rich merchants its palaces and pleasure gardens, and states that, in a great monastery built there by 'KANHADĀSA' he lived for a time and composed that work.

Buddha Vihāra

The site of Buddha Vihāra (1600 years old) at pallavanī-śvaram of Kāvērippūmpaṭṭinam (Pūmpuhār) was excavated by the Archaeological Survey of India and it formed part of old Pūmpuhār.

This ancient Buddha Vihāra was built with well burnt bricks of various sizes and the binding substance was only mud

mortar. The size of the bricks used for the basement were 36.25x 18.75x7.5 cm. whereas the size of the bricks used for the superstructure were 23.75x12.5x5 cm.

Analysis of 1600 year old Mud Mortar used in Buddha Vihāra.

Research on Ancient Mud Mortar-Mix used in Buddha Vihāra was necessary to find out the chief ingredients in the Mortar-Mix for their stability even after 1600 years.

Generally, Mortar is used to bind together the stone or bricks of the walls of a superstructure to provide smooth hard surface. What is required for Mortar is obviously some substance that will harden and adhere strongly to brick or stone for putting these materials together in a structure. Here Mud Mortar was used in Buddha Vihāra as binding substance.

Mud consists of clay, silt and sand. Smallest particles in the soil have dimension less than 0.002 mm. It is nothing but minerals having different composition. They are ALBITE, QUARTZ, ILLITE, MONTMORILLONITE, and KAOLINITE.

All of them are Silicates. Due to the action of Aluminium oxide and iron oxide with H_2O they become slushy. On drying they cement together like a Rock due to combination of Aluminium and Iron with silicate group in the centre forming layers of, Tetrahedral and octahedral (4 & 8 Molecules of H_2O.) rings.

Detailed analysis of the ancient Mud Mortar (1600 year old) used in Buddha Vihāra showed that Fine Fibrous Materials (PANDANUS - SPECIES) (தாழம்பூநார்) had been used as the chief ingredient for binding besides sand and jaggery. The analysis showed that with the ageing of the Buddha Vihāra, the sugary taste of the sucrose has lessened but not the binding capacity.

THE SCOPE OF GHEMICAL CONSERVATION

BY

SRI N. HARINARAYANA

Director of Museums,

Government Museum, Madras-8

"We dig up mere *things,* forgetting that our proper aim is to dig up *people*", said Sir Mortimer Wheeler, the great archaeologist, uttering a word of caution about excessive preoccupation with things dug up as ends in themselves. He was keen on stressing that excavated objects should be studied in such a manner as to enable one to reconstruct the life of the people who made them and left them behind.

This word of caution has been well taken, and it may be truly said that archaeological studies veer more and more towards "digging up *people*", not "mere *things*". These studies are made in two ways: the historical and the aesthetic on one hand and the scientific (using methods of physical examination and chemical analysis) on the other. It is the latter which is broadly dealt with by the discipline which went by the name of "archaeological chemistry" earlier and is now referred to "art conservation" or "chemical conservation."

Though primarily archaeological chemistry began with the task of protecting fragile materials found in excavations, it had to spread its net wider as time went on and now its scope is vast. Since the term "Archaeological Chemistry" appears to be too closely linked with archaeology and gives the impression of being limited to objects of archaeological interest solely whereas in actual practice, other objects of art like paintings and illuminated manuscripts and objects of daily use and contemporary make also require chemical attention, the same discipline is now referred to as Chemical Conservation or Conservation of Cultural Property.

Archaeological Chemistry is ruled in all its work by one over-riding consideration: the objects it treats are all unique — either they are masterpieces or they are the only remnants to tell us of a great civilization; it may be the bronze dancer of Mohenjodaro or a pot sherd of the same civilization. Such being the case, the work of the archaeological chemist is made absolutely rigorous. He has to preserve the object, he has to strengthen it, repair it, if necessary, yet do nothing to detract from the original character of the piece. Moreover whatever he does, should be capable of being undone if, at a later date, a better method or material is discovered or in some cases, the material used for treatment has worsened the situation. An example of the latter is the shellac varnish used in the 1920's to preserve the Ajanta paintings. Shellac varnish had been a protective coating for paintings for a long time; yet at Ajanta, it darkened over the years and collected grime and dust, and the result has been the obscuring in some cases and the discolouration in others of the paintings. An instance of the former is that of a lyre of copper and wood with decorations in gold and silver found at Ur by Sir Leonard Woolley and reconstructed with the materials available in the 1920's. Later in the 1950's it was restored again by R.M. Organ with new materials and techniques, and the result is that one sees the lyre in the British Museum in its pristine condition.

From all that has been said before, it may be seen that the tasks of archaeological chemistry are:

(1) to examine the object in the state in which it is found and arrive at what chemical and physical changes have occurred to bring it to that condition.

(2) to decide how the effect of these chemical and physical changes may be countered and what materials and techniques would be most suitable for doing so. It may be a question of consolidation of a weakened structure or removal of an accretion of products of deterioration that obscure details.

(3) to identify the agents of such degradation of objects and the mode of their operation. It may be sunlight breaking down the cellulosic chains of textile fibres or salt efflorescence powdering the surface of porous stone, or bacteria producing brown stains on paper and weakening it at the spot. Sometimes the cause of decay may be intrinsic, in the fabrication of the object itself, the use of poor materials or imperfect techniques. A painting on wood might have been done on wood not properly seasoned and consequent warping may have its effect on the paint layer itself.

(4) to carry out the treatment decided upon as carefully and delicately as possible. Though there are generalised methods for each type of objects, yet it can be said that the treatment given is almost individual to each object because the environments in which the objects had lain vary and because the techniques of the fabrication of the objects vary. Moreover quite often two or three materials are combined in the making of a thing, for example, the arrow of a tribal can have an iron tip tied to a *bamboo* cane with twine or a thong. In such cases, the problem becomes even more complicated. The methods and materials used have to be so devised that the treatment of one component of the object does not affect another component.

(5) to investigate the composition and techniques of ancient materials. This is implicit in the very approach of conservation to the work it undertakes, for we have to know what material we are dealing with and how it has been made so as to take up its treatment scientifically. But the amazing workmanship and ingenuity shown by many objects of the past has stimulated a deeper study of their composition and techniques with revelations which are no less amazing. Moreover the study of a large number of antiquities of the same type like coins or bronzes coming from an extended period of time produces facts which tell of

economic factors, trade between countries, growth or decline of civilization or culture, etc. The development of new techniques of dating has added new dimensions to the study of ancient materials: precise, objective chronology which has confirmed in many cases and changed in some cases the chronology based on other factors like iconography. There are now methods of radiocarbon dating applicable to organic materials, thermoluminescent dating applicable to rocks and pottery objects, magnetic dating again for ceramic material, dendrochronology applicable to wood, obsedian dating applicable to stone age artifacts. All these give an impressive array of objective facts which have even altered radically certain historical views. Colin Renfrew in his book "Radio-carbon Revolution" has suggested how the new facts gleaned from radiocarbon dating has required rethinking about the past of prehistoric Europe.

If these are the tasks of archaeological chemistry, these can be best illustrated by a few examples of preservation, analysis and techniques of antiques, which highlight remarkably the results achieved.

Organic materials, from the archaeological chemists point of view, are the most susceptible to decay. They can disappear without a trace. Yet quite often there are instances of objects made of organic materials surviving. One such instance is that of wooden artifacts, from a site at the Kalambo Falls in Southern Rhodesia, estimated by radiocarbon dating to be about 53,000 years old, the only known wooden tools of the Lower Palaeolithic Period. This wood has been in a damp environment and was water-logged. In this condition, the wood would have absorbed a great deal of water, and would be soft and with very low mechanical strength. It keeps its form because of the absorbed water and if it is allowed to dry, it would shrink, crack or warp. There was required a method by which the water would be replaced by a material, volume for

volume, which would later set without shrinkage. One such material was found among the synthetic polyethylene glycol waxes. Its trade name is Carbowax 4000. It is soluble in water. The wooden object is at first immersed in a 12% aqueous solution of carbowax 4000 at room temperature. Then over some weeks, the temperature is gradually raised to 60°C. First the water in the wood diffuses out and is replaced by the wax solution. As the supernatant liquid evaporates, the solution becomes concentrated until there is only molten wax since 60°C is above the melting point of carbowax. Once this happens, the object is removed from the molten wax and allowed to cool down. The wax which has entered the pores of the wood sets and sustains the cell walls from breaking down. By this, the wood is strengthened and consolidated and the object saved. Another material used for such preservation of waterlogged wood is a melanmine—formaldehyde resin called Arigal C. In this case, after the water in the wood is replaced by the resin, the resin is made to set to an insoluble compound by the use of a catalyst.

In early times, writing was also done on clay tablets. When Woolley excavated Ur of the Chaldees, he came upon a whole library of clay tablets. But they were of unbaked clay and were soft and fragile. They could not stand the journey from the excavation site to the laboratory. It was imperative that they were strengthened *in situ*. So Woolley devised an ingenious method. He baked them in tin containers until the clay hardened. Once this was done, they were strong enough to be handled. "Ostraka", which were Egyptian potsherds used for writing purposes, posed a different problem. They were salt-laden, and the salt crystals hid the writing. It was easy to dissolve the salt away by immersing the object in water, but there was every possibility that the tablet would disintegrate. It was necessary to find a material which would allow water and salt to pass through but would keep the object in tact. Such a chemical was available in a soluble nylon polymer. This is applied to the object as a 5% solution in ethyl alcohol. The surface film which it forms protects the

tablet from disintegrating as the salt is leached out. Once the salt is removed, the writing emerges and one more document is saved for history.

Talking of history, the importance of the Dead Sea Scrolls to Biblical scholarship and history is hardly in doubt. These are manuscripts of leather and parchment discovered from 1948 onwards in caves high up on the hills nar the Dead Sea. They were found dust-laden, insect-eaten, dry, brittle, curled up. They were so dry and brittle that they would crumble while being unrolled. They had to be softened before being unrolled and the best way to do it was to expose the piece to the damp air of a vessel containing water at the bottom. This process of hydration was enough to soften the pieces and facilitate their being unrolled. Another method was to coat the outside of the curled-up fragments with a solution of polyvinyl acetate in toluene. As it evaporates, the shrinking of the polymer film sets off enough forces to unroll the manuscript.

The unrolling of a copper scroll found at the same site is an achievement of archaeological chemistry. The scroll was in a highly oxydised state and crumbled at any attempt to open up the edges. It could be seen that there was writing on the inside of the strips. After assessing the chemical composition and the state of the metal, it was clear that the metal had completely corroded and its flexibility lost. The only solution was to cut it into strips. After a lot of preliminary investigation, the scroll was coated with Araldite and then cut by an improvised saw which would penetrate one 'leaf' at a time. The strip, thus cut, was cleaned of dust and given a protective coating. When the strips were arranged in order and read, the scroll turned out to be an inventory of the treasury of the sect which was responsible for all the scrolls.

This is only one example of the problems posed by metals. Gold alone escapes corrosion and can be found almost untouched by the salts surrounding it in the soil. All other metals including silver undergo various types of decomposition, and in

the case of iron and lead, corrosion can be so complete that only a mass of corrosion products survive in the place of the metal. Copper and bronze objects are found in various states of decomposition, and the consequent chemical cleaning has to be suitably modified. For instance, the corrosion products combine with siliceous matter from the soil and form a botryoidal mass on the object completely covering details. Such a crust is hard and unyielding to mechanical removal. In some cases, powdery white, moist patches will be seen here and there on the objects and these patches will be found to spread if the object is kept in a humid atmosphere. It is referred to as bronze disease and is attributed to the presence of chloride in the corrosion products. In both the cases described above, the disfiguring products of corrosion are softened and removed through an electrolytic process which is a process af reduction. There are instances where the corrosion crusts are formed as a transparent, shining, smooth greenish blue layer which acts as a protective coating as well. Such a formation is called "patina" and is prized for its aesthetic appearance. Sometimes in this patina, there will be one or two random patches of bronze disease and this has to be neutralized without damaging the patina. This is carried out with a dilute solution of sodium sesquicarbonate in water. Sometimes a paste of silver oxide with alcohol is used to neutralise the chloride at spots in the patina. The silver oxide forms silver chloride with the chlorine of the "bronze disease" and seals off the spot from further attack by chloride. Thus from object to object, the conservation processes are varied.

From bronzes to paper is a far cry, but a problem posed by paper manuscripts and prints is interesting. Old paper, you might have noticed, is discoloured, limp, even brittle. The reason for this is that it gathers acidity which weakens the size and the fibres of the paper. The most important step to save the paper is to remove the acidity. There are various deacidification processes using weak alkalies like lime water and baryta solution. In these cases, the paper has to be dipped in acqueous solution. Not all old paper may be able to

withstand being put in such solution. One of the alternatives devised for this is to expose the old paper to ammonia vapour in a closed chamber. Here ammonia neutralises the acid of the paper. Deacidification itself freshens up the old paper, but the discolouration may persist. This is removed by bleaching processes using mild bleaching agents like sodium chlorite. Such a procedure was adopted for the treatment of 65 prints from our Raj Bhavan. These are over 150 years old and had become discoloured, brittle and mouldy. After deacidification and bleaching and re-sizing with gelatine, they regained their creamy freshness.

Bone and ivory are among the earliest materials used by man for making artifacts. They are essentially composed of calcium phosphate along with an organic material called "*Ossein*". When bone and ivory are buried, the ossein deteriorates and decomposes, making the bone or ivory object porous and fragile. Buried bone and ivory objects are further affected by salt encrustation. In most cases, the essential requirement is to strengthen the artifact of bone and ivory by introducing a consolidant into the pores of the object. But the consolidant solution will not easily enter the pores due to the resistance put up by capillary forces and the air inside the pores. The only solution is to remove the air and allow the consolidant to fill the pores. This is done by a process-called vacuum impregnation. In this process, the object is immersed in molten paraffin wax or a solution of polyvinyl acetate in toluene in an air-tight vessel and the air in the vessel is removed with the help of a vacuum pump. When a vacuum is thus created, the air inside the pores of the bone or ivory object also is drawn out. Subsequently when air is let into the vessel, it tries to rush into the pores and pushes in the resin or wax. This is a successful method of consolidating the piece, and many an object of bone or ivory owe their strength to this process.

In all these preservatory processes, a number of modern synthetic products play a vital role. Synthetic resins and

adhesives have been supreme in this. Polyvinyl acetate, cellulose acetate, epoxy resins are only a few examples. A new neat process of strengthening old paper, called solvent lamination, depends entirely on cellulose acetate sheets and acetone. One advantage of this process is its reversibility. Another interesting application of a modern synthetic material is that of the ion-exchange resin, Amberlite IR-20 in the cleaning of lead objects. It does away with acidic or alkaline solutions in the treatment of lead and is a quick and safe method.

These are only some of the preservation processes used to safeguard antiques and objects of art. There is the other aspect of the study of these objects-the composition of their materials and the techniques used to fabricate them. These are broadly divisible into two categories: (1) those which help in determining the age of an object and (2) those which help in elucidiating the chemical composition and physical structure of an object.

I have already referred to the dating methods and how they help in arriving at a chronology of the people who made the objects. These methods have also been useful in discovering fakes and forgeries, for if an object, on the basis of its artistic content, is claimed to be ancient but is proved by a dating method to be of recent origin, then its authenticity comes into question. A number of Etruscan objects which had flooded the antiques market sometime earlier were found to be fakes on dating them through one of these methods.

The second set of methods have also a great deal to reveal about the objects and their history. The emergence of a number of non-destructive methods of analysis has particularly been helpful, for art objects are precious material from which taking samples will not be countenanced by the Curators having custody of them. Some of the methods which have been employed for the study of antiques and art objects are (1) optical emission spectrometry (2) isotope-excited X-ray fluorescence (3) neutron activation analysis (4) X-ray diffraction analysis and electronprobe microanalysis. Some of the results achieved by these and conventional methods of analysis have

been remarkable. For instance, though we know a great deal about corrosion, nature still springs surprises. One such is the discovery of a new mineral, chalconatronite, in the corrosion products of an Egyptian process. A great deal remains to be done in correlating the corrosion of metal antiques and the soil in which they lay buried for centuries. Damascened swords were famous in antiquity not only for their strength but also for that peculiar impressive pattern formed by heat treatment. Cyril Stanley Smith says that it was "the investigation of an essentially decorative phenomenon and an oriental one at that which had directly led to the most important single scientific discovery in metallurgical history!"

Something of economic history emerges sometimes from the study of antiques. When about 1000 Sassanian silver coins belonging to periods between 225-64 A.D. were analysed by X-ray fluorescence, the silver content of most of them was 80% and only coins belonging to a time between 241-272 A.D. had a lower silver content. This was a time of war in the country and financial stringency is indicated by the debasement of the coins. Analysis of Chinese blue and white porcelain revealed that after the 17th Century local supplies of cobalt were used for the blue of the porcelain. This cobalt had manganese as an impurity while the earlier cobalt imported from Persia was free from manganese. This at once gives a clue to the antiquity of any particular Chinese porcelain with blue colour in it.

And so we have had a glimpse of the scope of chemical conservation. Its work starts from the moment an object is unearthed to the time it is preserved in the museum and studied more extensively for extracting from it interesting facts of history. The role of conservation in the preservation of monuments that stand exposed to the relentless fury of the elements over centuries cannot be minimised. If the archaeologist unearths the object, the chemist preserves and adds his own findings about its composition and fabrication techniques to help the former add a wider perspective to historical studies. In a way, chemical conservation is a bridge between the two cultures.

I

REPORT OF SEMINARS

The Institute of Traditional Cultures held a seminar at 4-15 P.M. on the 21st March 1979 in Room No. 48 of the Madras University Departmental Buildings on "Indian Architecture Tamil Sources" led by Thiru M. Arunachalam, M.A., under the chairmanship of Dr. K. K. Pillai, M.A., D.Litt., D.Phil (OXON.). The following is a report of the proceedings of the seminar.

An audience of 30 persons was present.

The Chairman introduced the Leader and requested him to lead the seminar.

Thiru M. Arunachalam: It is no wonder the science of architecture, which is as much an art as a science, had been greatly developed by the Tamil people, who had been described as 'a race of temple builders even two thousand years back.' But they seem to have written all their treatises on architecture in the Sanskrit language, as they had done in the case of all other sciences like medicine, astronomy and astrology, music etc. and even philosophy. The Āgamas, and the Śilpa śāstras, which were actually a development of the material contained in the āgamas, were mostly composed in South India, beginning perhaps from a period earlier than the Buddha, down to the tenth century. Śivācaryas had been responsible for the Āgamas and Śilpācāryas for the Śilpa śāstras. They wrote their books in Sanskrit because they felt that their thoughts should have a universal appeal. The Sanskrit language was then considered the lingua franca of the Bhāratakhaṇḍa of the ancients: at any rate, Sanskrit was held to be the language of the learned and the elite in all India; so they wrote all their books in the Sanskrit language.

Even as late as the 17th and the 19th centuries, we find treatises on music and on architecture being written in South

India in the Sanskrit language. We do not have any early Tamil books on the subject of architecture; the metric *Maṇaiyaḍi Śāstram* (Tamil) was quite a modern composition of the 17-18th centuries. This is a treatise on house building, which had undergone several editions in the second half of the 19th century. The title of the treatise is "*Maṇaiyaḍi Śāstram* graciously written by *Mayan the Viśvakarmā*." The statement is obviously wrong; Viśvakarmā was the architect of the Devas while Maya was the architect of the Asuras. *Mayamata*, a Sanskrit treatise dealing with the construction of buildings in the school of Maya, is a very well known work. It was published in two parts by the Sarasvati Mahal Library of Tanjavur in 1966 and 1968 in the grantha script with a Tamil translation. The French Institute of Indology at Pondicherry has published the first part in 1970 in the nāgari script with an introduction, translation and notes in French in a beautiful edition. *Mayamata* is said to be by Maya-muni (sage Maya). The Tamil treatise mentioned is appearently a condensed adaptation of the *Mayamata* by a practitioner of the house-building trade in the 17th-18th centuries. It deals with omens, testing of the soil, rules for the houses of the different *varṇas*, the inauguration, measurements, the standard measure to be adopted, timber, Vāstu puruṣa, auspicious day, month, nakṣatra etc. and deals also with sinking of the well. The title page says that the Tamil text had been checked with *Sanatkumāra vāstu*, *Katakavāstu*, *Kālāmirtam* and *Vimēśvara uḷḷamuḍaiyān* (Tamil). All the texts of *Mayamata* and *Maṇaiyaḍi śāstra* (Sanskrit and Tamil) have several useful diagrams.

Architecture in the Sangham Age

We learn there were indeed many Tamil books on the subject. Aḍiyārkku Nallār mentions *Oviya Nūl*, which might have dealt with painting, sculpture and architecture. The classic poems referring to the subject of architecture mention *nūlaṟi pulavar*. The term is applied to Lord Muruha in *Tiru Muruhāṟṟuppaḍai* and generally it means the King's ministers well versed in the *śāstras*. But in this technical field it means experts well versed in the books on the subject; the books

could have been in the Tamil language but we do not have any of those books today. (*Nūl* here means scientific books on architecture.)

A few references may be cited here. *Neḍunalvāḍai* by poet Nakkīrar gives us an idea of the application of architectural science to palace construction. Pāṇḍiyan Neḍumcēḷiyan is at the battle front with his soldiers. His queen is in the palace, suffering the pangs of separation and solitude.

The poet gives an elaborate account of how her palace was built, her bed was arranged and similar other details.

"The auspicious hour for constructing the palace was fixed as fifteen *nāḷikai* (midday) on a particular day in the month of Chitrai. The śilpācāryas drew the lines straight with reference to the directions, prayed to the deities of the eight quarters, and then drew the plan for the apartments, doorways and halls. A fort-wall encircled the palace. There were steel gates over the entrance and they were painted with vermilion.[1] There were always double doors, with wooden door-posts. The top frame of the door-way had engraved on it the form of Lakṣmi with a female elephant on either side holding the water lily. (This form can be seen in all temples even today installed as the Gajalakṣmi). The skilful architect had fixed thereon double doors with suitable padlock."

This passage from a text of the *Pattuppāṭṭu* group makes a reference to the architects and their plan in the construction of the temple (*Neḍunalvāḍai* lines (76-84):

நூலறி புலவர் நுண்ணிதிற் கயிறிட்டுத்
தேஎம் கொண்டு தெய்வம் நோக்கிப்
பெரும்பெயர் மன்னர்க் கொப்ப மனைவகுத்து
ஒருங்தடன் வளைஇ ஓங்குநிலை வரைப்பிற்
பருவிரும்பு பிணித்துச் செல்வான் குரீஇத்
துணைமாண் கதவம் பொருத்தி இணை மாண்டு

1. Vermilion red oxide of mercury, is considered even today to guard the steel parts from rusting.

நாளொடு பெயரிய கோளமை விழுமரத்துப்
போதவிழ் குவளைப் புதூப்பிடி காலமைத்துத்
தாழொடு குயின்ற போரமை புணர்ப்பு.

We may mention in passing that Mayan is referred to in the epics *Silappadhikāram, Maṇimēkhalai* and *Perumkathai.* Though traditionally he is the architect for the asuras, he is always quoted in these books where he is the Deiva-taccan; Viśvakarmā is never mentioned in these. The earlier commentator on *Silappadhikāram* refers also to the Sanskrit text *Mayamatam.*

The architect's profession was also a trade like every other trade and he is mentioned as 'the one who lives by his rope': that is, his profession of building and architecture is carried through measurements done with the rope (for marking the house plan on the ground):

யாத்த சிற்பக் கயிற்றின் வாழுநர்,

Town Planning

The Tamil people of the past have been acknowledged as the greatest pioneers and masters in three fields of enterprising social activity: they are town-planning, irrigation and navigation. Of these three, we shall here leave out navigation, as it does not come under the subject taken up. An aspect of irrigation comes under our purview, whereas the whole of town-planning means only the application of architecture and so it comes fully under our purview. We shall first take up townplanning.

Elaborate details in regard to town planning are available from all the aneient classics. They had the three great cities–Puhār, Madurai and Vañji, besides Uṛaiyūr, which were well developed and flourishing cities and so description is natural. The city of Puhār was then divided into two sections as *Paṭṭinappākkam,* close to the sea where the King, his royal entourage and the higher class people lived, and the inland *Maruvūrp-pākkam* where the common people lived.

Along the streets, cosmetics were sold. Separate streets or quarters were there for weavers in silk, wool and cotton. There were then streets where the gem-dealers, grocers who sold their produce in heaps, dealers in cooked foods, *valaichiyar* selling toddy, the fisher-men, traders in salt, sellers of betel leaves, sellers of spices, butchers, oil-men, dealers in bronze wares and copper wares, carpenters, blacksmiths, *chitrakāras* and *śilpācāryas,* goldsmiths, other jewellers, tailors, cobblers, doll makers and musicians like the pāṇas lived. All these lived in separate streets or colonies in the Maruvūrp-pākkam area.

The higher class area, Paṭṭinappākkam had separate streets such as the high roads of the royalty, the car streets where chariots with their banners plied, market streets or bazaars, the rich quarters of the aristocratic traders, the brahmin quarters, the streets of the farmers, doctors, astrologers, those that strung pearls, the wide streets of those that cut conches into bangles, the streets of the three classes of panegyrists-*sūtar, māgadar* and *vaitāḷikar*, those that announced the hour of the day, the several categories of dancers, the drummers, those that sounded the music for the army and for festivals, the buffoons; and then the quarters of the cavalry men, the elephantry men, the chariot forces, and the captains of the infantry who lived in barracks surrounding the palace-all these constitute the Paṭṭinappākkam. There were two sets of markets-the day bazaar and the night bazaar. All these would indicate the extent to which planning the city was carefully attended to.

Besides, there were community halls, *vidyā maṇḍapam* (some times called *paṭṭi maṇḍapam*) and audience halls. Festoons hung on the entrances. There was a *veḷḷiḍai manṟam,* which spot out thieves and pick-pockets; the writer here makes a subtle point that the citizens of Puhār had never heard of thefts, even in their dreams, but outsiders and tourists were always pouring in and there was the possibility of thieves among them. There was a hall with a tank which cured the diseases of the bathers. There was another hall with a pillar which was radiating a ray or light (some thing perhaps like our

ultralviolet rays) which cured all types of mental derangement. The Bhūta Catukkam (square) had a guardian bhūta which beat up persons with evil intentions and ate them up. Another was a hall with an idol which would shed tears when justice was not meted out to petitioners. These five halls were special to the city of Puhār.

Cēri was the name by which all colonies of people was known. We have *andaṉar cēri* (*pārppanac-cēri*). No stigma is attached to the term *cēri* as in the modern day, when *cēri* is taken to mean only a colony of the lowest classes.

The city of Rājagiriyam had many other distinct quarters. *Yavanac-cēri* housed soldiers from the *yavana* country. The lancers were housed in a separate area known as *eṟipaḍaippāḍi*. Local soldiers lived in an area known as *Tamiḻac-cēri*. Other types of soldiers called *milēccar* (probably mercenaries) lived there. There was a colony of blacksmiths, to look after and immediately repair broken weapons.

Then there was an art gallery built by placing bricks one over the other, in the corbelling arrangement, meaning the *vavvāl neṟṟi*. A large number of entertainments was provided here to visitors. Separate quarters existed for the spiritually inclined who did their penances undisturbed. There were places for training horses and elephants. Visitors were always treated to free food. There were dance halls and water sheds; gambling dens were also not wanting.

Kaḻagam is a Tamil word which has the respectable meaning of 'an association of respectable persons for a common political, religious or cultural purpose'. But in the period of the Sangham and a millenium later, *kaḻagam* meant only a gambling den. Thus the two words *cēri* and *kaḻagam* represent two types of changes in meaning; *cēri* from a general to a lower one, and *kaḻagam* from a lower to a higher one.

Cities had underground drainages called *karandupaḍai* (hidden water drain). It drained waste water; it was constructed in

the middle of the street and was covered over with large stones so that elephants might not fall into them. We should remember that elephantry was a chief section of the king's army, and elephant traffic along public thoroughfares was frequent (*Silappadhikāram* 14 : 65).

The Town as a Lotus Flower

Likening the town to a lotus flower was a favourite idea with the classical poets. *Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaḍai* and *Paripāḍal* mention these: "The town is like the lotus flower which blossoms out of the navel of Lord Viṣṇu. The streets of the town are like the petals of the lotus. The king's palace is like the pericarp. The citizens of the Tamilnad are like the pollen. Those that throng the city for some presents from the king are like the bees."[1]

The idea has been further developed in *Perumkathai*. "The quarters of the soldiers is the lotus tank. The quarters of the public women are the sepal of the calyx of the flower. The quarters of the *Veḷāḷar* are the external petals of the flower. The brahmin quarters, *andaṇar cēri*, are the inner petals. The quarters of the *vaṇikar* (merchants) are the outer real petals. The quarters of the ministers are the flower petals." Such was the planning of the city of Rājagiriyam

Another concept found in Cintāmaṇi is similar: "The tank is the external petals; the soldiers are the outer petals; the elephantry constitute the inner petals; the actual flower petals are the people; and the pericarp of the lotus is the King" (2311.)

The concept of the lotus is with reference to the planning of the town and the construction of its various quarters. Another concept, not practical, but poetic, is found in many writers. Here the city as a fortress is likened to a woman:

1. We are here reminded of the modern lay out of the Banaras Hiudn University by Pandit Mālaviya where the Vice-Chancellor's office was the centre or pericarp and a dozen roads led off from the centre like the rays of the morning rising sun.

"The structure around the fort wall is her girdle (*mēkhalai*). The moat is her *sari*. The bastions in the fortification are her breasts. The doors are her jewels. The towers are her face. The banners flying are her tresses of hair." The description found in *Perumkathai* is copied by later books like *Cintāmaṇi*.

Irrigation – the Grand Anicut

Many nations of the world today send their experts to Tamil nadu to study the Kāvēri delta irrigation system. The system is a natural irrigation through gravitational force made possible by the lay of the terrain which slopes from the west towards the sea, i.e., the east. This natural phenomenon had been utilised by the Chōḷa Emperors who had laid out many channels in their names which fan out from Tiruccirāppaḷḷi in many channels reaching the sea, thereby causing the Kāvēri waters to irrigate the entire Chōḷa country. Though the Ganges and the other great rivers of India carry a much larger volume of water, only a small fraction of that water is used for natural irrigation. On the other hand, with the River Kāvēri, the entire volume of water is utilised and almost no water reaches the sea at the mouth of the Kāvēri. No wonder, the *Bhāgavata purāṇa*, speaking of the great rivers of the South, mentions the Kāvēri with a special attribute – "greatly meritorious" – *Kāvēri ca mahā puṇyā*.

One of the great marvels of any irrigation project in the world is the Grand Anicut constructed by Karikāl Chōḷa on the Kāvēri. This great life-giving river has three dams on it in Tamil nad. The first the Upper Dam west of Tiruchi; the second the Grand Anicut, a long way south of Tiruchi, at a site beyond the junction of the two arms of the Kāvēri after two arms round Sri Rangam and then unite; and the third the Lower Anicut about fifteen miles north east of Kumbhakonam. Of the three, the Central one is the Grand Anicut and its very name will show the grandness of its conception and construction. It is celebrated in Tamil literature in many verses. Karikāl Chōḷa (II) constructed it in the *Kali* era 3090 which is 11 B.C.

தொக்க கலியின்மூ வாயிரத்துத் தொண்ணூற்றின்
மிக்க கரிகால வேந்தனுந்தான்—பக்கம்
அலைக்கும் புகழ்ப் பொன்னி ஆறுகரை கண்டான்
மலைக்கும் புயத்தானும் வந்து.

The Grand anicut is mentioned in Tamil as *Kallaṇai* and this is referred to in verse 38 of the *Chōḷa maṇḍala satakam.* This Karikāla is the patron celebrated in *Paṭṭinappālai* by Kaḍiyalūr Rudram-kaṇṇanār. The great achievement of Karikāla in the field of irrigation was his constructing and putting up the banks for the river *Koḷḷiḍam* which previously was laying waste vast areas adjacent to its banks by its uncontrolled floods during the monsoon season, and by the construction of this Kallaṇai which helped to control the flood waters of the Kāvēri and divert them when not required into the *Koḷḷiḍam.* The great feature about the *Kallaṇai* is that when many similar dams all over the world have been breached, broken or washed away in times of unusual floods, this has stood the test of time of over 2000 years and still going strong, serving the very purpose for which it was built. A further wonder is that it is built on porous soil; all the soil in the delta area being porous, clayey and insecure and not like rock. The edifice built on such soil, which not only had to support its weight, but stand the stress and trough of huge floods when water would be everywhere and the whole foundations also would be soaked in water for six months in the year. In such a physical environment the dam has been built and it is still going strong. It is even beyond our comprehension how it was originally conceived.

We do not know the name of the architect or his plan for its construction. What imagination he should have had for choosing the site, what safeguards he would have made for stemming the flow of subsoil spring water, what calculations he could have made for planning it right then to withstand the ravages of time ranging over twenty centuries! The dam had sunk, it seems two times, and twice super structures have been added. But the base is still there and has never been washed off.

Temple Architecture

Besides the two specializations mentioned earlier, an even greater characteristic of the Tamil people has been their temple building activity. It is no doubt true that religion and philosophy run in the veins of the Indians as a whole, but it is most apparent in the life and culture of the Tamil people. From the earliest period, we have literary evidences of the existence of temples of great architectural value. In the days of the later Chola Emperors we find they had been concentrating on temple building and we do not have many references to palace building. Temple construction and architecture shows a process of gradual evolution both in the concept of God's form and in the concept of the House of God.

God revealed Himself to man in the form of a small piece of stone in the shade of a tree in the primitive period and from this manifestation was evolved during the centuries the modern Śivalinga and its elaborate architectural temple. The plant which gave shade to the piece of stone is even today revered as the *sthala vrikṣa* of the local temple.

Early Temples

The first temple was of course built in mud and had a roof of thatch. A relic of that temple is found in Tiru Ārūr in the name of Paravai-uṇ-maṇtaḷi, the mud-temple worshipped by Paravai, the wife of St. Sundaramūrti at the place. This is celebrated in one of his songs (c. 700 A.D.). The *liṅga* and the *āvuḍaiyār* were developments in the course of centuries. The sanctum and other attendant chambers were evolved later and they were built in brick and mud. An evidence of such a temple is that at Tiru Karaviram on the road to Tiru Ārūr from Kumbhakōṇam. Probably it is one of the seventy and odd temples built by Koccengaṭ Chōḷa (in the 5th century) which still remains in brick and mud (or even mortar) while most others had been re-built in cut-stone. The Kaḍāram-koṇḍān temple madil also could be a remnant of the structure of that period.

Midway between the mud temple (maṇtaḷi) and the brick-and-mud structure could have been the wooden structures. As summer heat is very great and winter rains are very heavy in Tamilnad, the timber structures here did not last long. These natural forces and the termites seem to have ruled out the wooden temples after perhaps the opening years of the Christian era. However some remnants of timber work are to be seen in Chidambaram and Tiruveṇkāḍu even today. A note on wooden temple cars is given later.

Cave and Rock Temples

The Pallavas introduced the cave temples, where every thing was scooped out of a huge rock – pillars, halls, liṅgas and other parts of a temple. This was a very remarkable achievement which seems to have been begun by the end of the sixth century. The cave temples of Mahendra Pallava (590–630 A.D.) and the one at Kaḷugumalai in the Pāṇḍiya country are landmarks in the evolution of the temple architecture in Tamilnad. The Mahābalipuram temples and structures are a marvel of architecture in the form of cave temples and rock temples. They were born in the imagination of the Pallava rulers. Space forbids us to make more than this passing mention about the monoliths and structures there. Besides the cave and rock cut temples originated by the Pallavas, they had also started the construction of temples with cut and sized stones transported from hills to the far away temple sites. This innovation ushered in a new era of building very grand temples in stone which continues to the modern day.

The Later Temples

When we speak of temples here, we refer only to the Śiva temple and the Vishṇu temple alone. We do not concern ourselves with the insignificant temples of minor deities.

Most temples are east facing; east was considered the auspicious direction, being the direction of the rising sun. A few are west facing. The east facing temple is considered to confer *bhoga* on the flock while the west facing is considered to confer *moksha*. As most people are after *bhoga* it is but natural that most temples face east.

There is only one temple facing north, the Kadambar kōil (Kuḷittalai) in the Tiruchi district; this faces the Kāvēri which is just in front of the temple. No temple faces south. But it should be remembered that Naṭarāja and Dakṣiṇāmūrti, where-ever they are, always face South.

It may be pointed out that the form of Umā-Mahēśvara is carved out in the wall of the sanctum behind the mūla-liṅga. The great temples at Tiru Adihai, Ambar, Vīḻimiḻalai etc. may be pointed out as examples of such architectural depiction.

Koccengaṭ Chōḷa

Koccengaṭ Chōḷa took upon himself the task of rebuilding the dilapidated earlier mud temples in the fifth century. He was reigning from the city of Uṛaiyūr in Tiruchi, his predecessors having been driven out of Puhār (Kāvērippaṭṭinam) by a tribe of Buddhistic Kaḷabhras. Jain Kaḷabhras had captured Madurai and driven out the Pāṇḍiyas. They were a most bigotted tribe and under their rule of 300 years there, the temples fared badly: Koccengaṭ Chōḷa, a devout Śaiva King, celebrated as one of the 63 Śaiva nayanmār, was pained at the ruin of the temples under the Kaḷabhras and so he took upon himself the task of constructing and re-constructing as many temples as he could. He had built 78 Śaiva temples according to St. Appar and the Tiru Naṛaiyūr Viṣṇu temple also. The Śaiva monarchs looked upon Viṣṇu temples also as their own, deserving of their patronage, a feature very admiringly and affectionately mentioned by Tiru Maṅgai āḻvār in his poem on Tiru Naṛaiyūr:

முருக்கிலங்கு கனித்துவர்வாய்ப் பின்னை கேள்வன்
மன்னெல்லாம் முன்னவியச் சென்று, வென்றிச்
செருக்களத்துத் திறலழியச் செற்ற வேந்தன்
சிரந்துணித்தான் திருவடிநும் சென்னி வைப்பீர்
இருக்கிலங்கு திருமொழிவாய் எண்தோள் ஈசற்கு
எழில் மாடம் எழுபது செய் துலகம் ஆண்ட
திருக்குலத்து வளச்சோழன் செய்த கோயில்
திருநறையூர் மணிமாடம் சேர்மின்களே

Here he says that the Choḷa had built 70 temples for Śiva.

Many temples in the past had been built with a large wall (fort wall or rampart) and a moat all round. Remnants of such architecture we still find in such temples as Koṇḍīśvaram, Kalayanallūr, Pandaṇainallūr, Tiruppuhalūr, Tiru Irumpūḷai etc.

Vimāna and Gōpura

Early temples had a tall *vimāna* (tower) on the sanctum (*garbha gṛha*) and not on the entrance-gateway. The former is called a *vimāna* while the latter is called a *gopura*. Both are different in conception and construction. They were always constructed tall, so that even from a distance of miles, they could be seen by people and could help to remind them of God. The temples of Tanjāvūr, Gangaikoṇḍa sōḷapuram, Dārāsuram, Tiru Bhuvanam and many others have tall *vimānas*, not *gōpuras*. But the general mass of the people do not know to differentiate between the two and so call the *vimāna* itself a gōpura; anything tall is called *gopura*. Probably such a terminology existed even in the days of the Nāyanmār. We find them mentioning gōpuras in several shrines. At that period, they might mention both by the term *gopura*.

Both the vimāna and the gōpura were constructed mostly in brick and mortar, although the temple itself was constructed in stone. In some rare cases as in Tanjāvūr, the entire vimāna is in stone. The Tanjāvūr vimāna is hollow inside and it is held in position by the corbelling arrangement. The imposing Vimānas mentioned in the above temples are of Chōḷa architecture while that at Koṇḍīśvaram is of the Pallava period.

The figure work on both the vimāna and the gopura is usually in stucco but the architecture of the two is different; the vimāna has always only one *kalaśa*, whereas the gōpuras have many according to their width. The gopuras have several tiers, upto eleven which account for their height, and there is an opening of a wide air passage on every tier. The gōpura is usually rectangular in cross section while the vimāna is mostly square and some times circular. The base of the vimāna is also mostly square but in a few cases it is circular.

There are also other shapes in the vimāna like the ardhacandra vimāna in Tiru Naṛaiyūr with two kalaśas. The Gajapriṣṭha vimāna (of the form of a recling elephant) is frequently met with in the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam area (having 3–5 kalaśas); rarely in the Choḷa maṇḍalam. In the latter cases the Kalaśas are naturally many, five, seven etc.

"The flow of air in the Gopuram gateway" is a proverb in Tamilnadu. Tamilnadu usually has a severe summer in the months of March-June. The days are very hot and there is generally no movement of air. But if one stands at the gateway of the gōpura, he can feel a cold wind gently flowing into the temple even during the hottest part of the day. There is a fine cold breeze in the evening and in the night even in the prākāras. It is indeed amazing how our ancients have been able to achieve all this. Scientifically we may say that the prākāras serve as an exhaust which sucks up the hot air to compensate which the gateway sucks in air which, by its movement, causes coldness. But the explanation is immaterial. The fact is there that the architecture of the Temples is such that it is always having a cool breeze moving inside wafting the flower and sandal odours.

Some Viṣṇu Temples

In the Viṣṇu temples housing His reclining form as Ranganātha, the vimāna is rectangular having three openings. The reclining form cannot be seen from a single point. Hence there are usually three openings one at the Face, another at His Chest and the third at His Feet. Here also the Kalaśas at the top are many.

Another special feature of the Viṣṇu temples may be mentioned. The sanctum in the Śiva temple houses only a liṅga-a formless form. But the sanctum in the Viṣṇu temple houses forms and they are the three the standing, the seated and the reclining. Usually the temples house only one such form in the sanctum. But unusually, some temples like the Kūḍalazhagar temple in Madurai, the Vaikuṇṭha perumāl shrine in Kanchi-

puram and Tirukkoṭṭiyur in the Ramanathapuram District house all the three forms in three tiers in the sanctum, one over the other.

The main structures in a Viṣṇu temple are the shrine of Viṣṇu and the shrine of Tāyār (Lakṣmi). Naturally depending on the size and resources of the temple, there may be sub-temples for Rāma, Kriṣna, Viṣvaksena, the Cakra and Conch; Āṇḍāḷ, and Āḻvār and some others had been added much later. The remarkable feature of the Viṣṇu temple is that the garbha gṛha has the form of Viṣṇu in stone flanked by Śrī Dēvi and Bhū Dēvi along with some sages like Mārkaṇḍēya and Agastya according to local legends and the Lord with consorts in bronze, all within the sanctum. This is never the case in a Śiva temple.

Śakti Shrine

In the early periods, Śakti had no separate sub-temple for Her. She was the *Bhoga śakti,* and a bronze icon of Hers was placed in the sanctum itself, either in the sitting posture or in the standing posture. Probably from the 12th century when the commander of Vikrama Choḷa (1118–1133) by name Naralōka Vīra constructed the separate shrine for Śivakāmasundari Śakti of Lord Naṭarāja in Chidambaram, known as the *Kāmakōṭṭam,* separate Śakti temples came to be constructed in all temples. The separate Kāmākṣi temple for Lord Ekāmbarēśvara in Kāncīpuram is some thing unusual.

Śakti shrine is a regular sub-temple, in the Mahā maṇṭapa in front of the sanctum and it is mostly south-facing. Sometimes, local (sthala purāṇa) legends would say that she performed a *tapas* here to get united with Śiva; in such cases her shrine is either to the right or the left of the main shrine, parallel to it, east facing, as in Madurai and in many other places. Occasionally there are variations as in Pandanallūr (north facing) and Tiruk-Kaḍavūr (east facing) while the main shrine is west facing). South signifies she is performing Her penance and North signifies that Her penance is over and she is united with Śiva.

Naṭarāja Shrine

Naṭarāja is always in bronze with His Śakti Sivakāmasundari by His side. His shrine is called a Sabhā, since He is portrayed in the icon as the Cosmic Dancer. His shrine has five kalaśas at the top. It is always south facing.

The Naṭarāja shrine has pride of place in the Śiva temple. His exclusive festival is the Ārdrā Darśanam and the Āni Tiru mañjanam. The common noun Kōyil means any temple. But in the Śaiva religion, Kōyil as a proper noun always signifies Chidambaram, the Holy of Holies for the Śaivas; similarly Śrī Rangam is Kōyil for the Vaiṣṇavas.

The Naṭarāja Sabhās in Chidambaram are five: Cit sabhā (the Hall of Knowledge), which is the innermost sanctum where Naṭarāja is placed; Kanaka sabhā (Ponnambalam) the Golden Hall where devotees are permitted to enter and worship, as soon as the particular *kāla pūjā* is over; Nritta sabhā, the Naṭarāja Hall of Dance in front of Naṭarāja, beyond the dhvaja stambha where he engaged in a dance contest with Kāḷi and lifted His right foot vertically up, called the Ūrdhva Tāṇḍava; Rāja sabhā, the Hall where Naṭarāja's jewels are kept (Pērambalam); and Dēva Sabhā, the Thousand Pillared Hall from where Naṭarāja commences His Ānanda Tāṇḍavam.

Besides these five in the temple of Naṭarāja Himself at Chidambaram, five Halls in five separate temples are celebrated in Śaiva lore. They are the Golden Hall of Chidambaram (Ponnambalam), the Silver Hall of Madurai (Veḷḷiyambalam), the Hall of Gems at Tiru Ālankāḍu (Ratna sabhā), the Copper Hall of Tiru Nelvēli (Tāmbra sabhā) and the Citra sabhā of Tiru-Kuṟṟālam (Picture Hall). It is curious that the last is a Hall where Naṭaraja is worshipped on a picture on the wall, so unusual in the Śaiva tradition.

The Prākāras

Śiva temples have several corridors or circuits round the sanctum and they are three, five or seven. The first circuit is

round the linga itself within the sanctum. The second is the most important one, called the *inner prākāra.* It houses most of the sub-shrines in a regular order. The architect who constructs the main shrine, provides niches for installing miscellaneous deities, on the outer side of the main shrine wall. On the southern side, there are niches for Narttana Gaṇapati, Jvaraharamūrti, Agastya and Dakṣiṇāmūrti, in this order. Dakṣiṇāmūrti is directly to the south of the liṅga in the sanctum. On the west of the sanctum directly behind the sanctum, it is usual to have Liṅgodbhava, occasionally replaced by Viṣṇu. Two more may be there, like Ardhanārīśvara and Bhikṣāṭhana. On the north, Brahmā, who has no separate temple for himself any where, is placed in a niche over the gomukhi (water spout). The other deity is Durgā, in a separate vimana in the far east, on the same northern side. In the other niches on the north, deities like Gangādhara may be placed. But Dakṣiṇāmūrti, Liṅgodbhava, Brahmā and Durgā are indispensable for all temples, even if small.

An observation may be made here. The Śiva shrine always aims at an integration or synthesis at the highest level. We have here the concept of the Trimūrti representation, Śiva (Dakshiṇāmūrti) in the south, Vishṇu in the west and Brahma iu the north niches.

The outer side of this prākāra has usually a continnous hall running on all the four sides. The south east, the *agnī mūlai* is usually the temple kitchen. These halls are called *Tiru Mālappatti* (Tiru - Mālihaippatti). The entire south is occupied by the 63 Nāyanmār and the Saptamātā; these are not provided in small temples. The south western corner, the nirruti, is always set apart for Vināyaka called the Kṣetra Vināyaka. Exactly behind the centre of the sanctum is the Muruha shrine, facing Liṅgodbhava. The north western corner is set apart for Lakṣmī (with gajas flanking on either side, elephants strew gems on Lakṣmi, the goddess of Prosperity and Kaśi Viśvanātha. Sometimes Sarasvatī also may find a place here.

The northern (outer) *patti* is usually devoid of sub-temples. But Caṇḍeśa is installed in a separate shrine, a little to the east of the liṅga in the sanctum in the prākāra itself. Caṇḍeśa is in the sitting posture facing the direction of the liṅga. The eastern half of the *patti* has always Bhairava, the Sun and Śani (Saturn); sometimes Candra (the moon) and other figures mentioned in the sthala legends.

Dvārapālas had been installed in temples at the entrance to the sanctum; they are mentioned in the songs of Saint Appar and Sundarar. In large temples, they are found in large sizes at all the entrances, carved in stone.

The sthala vrikṣa (temple tree) is planted generally on the northern outer prākāra (and rarely on the western).

Sub – Temples

Although many deities are installed in shrines and niches in the temple, all are not sub-temples. Only a few are considered sub-temples. The chief among these are the two - the Naṭarāja shrine and the Śakti shrine.

A sub-temple is distinguished by the *vimāna* and *kalaśa* over it. Besides the Śakti and Naṭarāja's which have as much importance as the main sanctum, the following are considered sub-temples: Dakṣiṇāmūrti, Kṣetra Vināyaka, Lord Muruha, Mahālakṣmi Caṇḍesa and (some times) Durgā.

Mahākāḷi is some times installed in the northern prākāra. But Māri, Piḍari and Ayyanar are *never installed* within a Śiva temple.

It may be clearly stated that the Navagraha group has not been given a place in the temple according to the Āgamas. It is a later accretion resulting from smārta influence; Since no specific position had been assigned to it by the Āgamas, it is located in different places such as the centre, the east, the northeast, the outer prakara etc.

Types of Temples

Many types of temples are referred to in the Śaiva Hymns. We have already referred to *Maṇ-taḷi* (mud-temple). Māḍakkoyil is the temple constructed on a raised base. These were originated by Koccengaṭ Choḷa and have an allusion to his previous birth as a spider. The spider was weaving its web over a Śivaliṅga at Tiru Ānaikkā in order that falling leaves might not fall on the Liṅga. An elephant which came to offer *pūjā* to this liṅga wiped off the web with its trunk as this was considered an item of dirt. The vexed spider did it again the next night and this also had the same effect. Enraged that the elephant should thus hamper its service to god, it entered the trunk of the elephant and bit it. The elephant died of the poison and regaining its form of a celestial in a previous birth went to the heaven. The spider got squeezed inside the trunk and died. Because of this *puṇya* it was born as this Choḷa monarch and remembering the mischief of the elephant, the Choḷa built the temples on a raised base with a narrow entrance, which an elephant could not enter.

Other temples mentioned in the hymns are Iḷamkoyil, Kohuḍikkoyil, Karakkoyil, Jñāḷaṟkoyil etc. Iḷamkoyil is the Bālalaya to which the deity in the sanctum is removed till reconstruction or repair work is finished and then the deity retransferred from the Bālayam. Such Iḷamkoyils exist in Kaḍambūr, Māyaccūr etc. In Dārasuram also, Śakti was removed to a Bālālayam so that repair work might be done in the temple. But no repair work was done and the Śakti continues to be in the Bālālayam and has not been re-installed in her original place after many centuries.

Kohuḍi is a variety of jasmine and probably the Kohuḍikkoyil was the temple where this jasmine is the sthala vrikṣa. Tiruk-Karuppaṟiyalur has such a jasmine and it is called the Kohuḍikkoyil. Similarly the Jñāḷaṟ koyil; jñāḷal is the *cassia* of the plant type (not tree type) and this might mean the temple where this plant is the sthala vrikṣa. Some other types like Karakkoyil, Ālakkoyil are obscure. Pūnkoyil is the Tiru Ārūr temple.

Some temples had been fashioned as chariots, in memory of Śiva's march mounted on a chariot to destroy the Tripurasuras. The classic example is the Nritta Sabhā in Chidambaram; Tiruk-Kaḍambur and Koṇarak (in Orissa) are some other examples. Here the temple is mounted like a chariot on huge stone wheels.

There is one Śiva temple which approximates to the Viṣṇu three tiered temple at Kūḍalaḷahar koyil, depicting the three forms of Viṣṇu (the standing, sitting and reclining forms) one over the other. The Sikaḷi temple of Śiva has Brahmapurīśvara in the main sanctum. According to the sthala purāṇam, Toṇipureśvara and Saṭṭainātha (a form of Bhairava) are two other important forms. Toṇipureśvara is placed on the first floor in a manner of speaking, but not over the sanctum. Similarly Saṭṭainathar, who is special to Sikāḷi, is placed in sort of second floor but not directly over the first, but a little removed, on one side.

It was usual in the past when people were God-fearing and placed God above every thing, always to ensure that their houses never rose higher than the vimāna over the local temple sanctum. Particularly in places like Chidambaram, those that had houses on the side of the main streets close to the temple, never constructed a first floor over their houses.

Temples for Minor Deities

Temples for minor deities had of course been existing from the earliest period. Śiva and Viṣṇu and also Śakti represent a high philosophy, with their own metaphysics and these naturally could not be absorbed by people in the lower strata of society. They therefore have their own petty deities which command their fullest devotion and in return the people receive the fullest solace and peace in life out of this devotion. The names of such deities vary through the centuries and from region to region, but essentially the construction of the temples and the manner of worship therein are identical.

Speaking of Indra viḷā in Puhār, *Silappadhikāram* gives a list of many important temples there; the temple of Śiva who is never born, the fine temple of the six-faced Sevvel, the temple of Baladeva (Balarama, elder brother of Krishṇa) white in complexion like the conch, the temple of tall Viṣṇu of blue complexion, and the temple of Indra with the pearl garland and white umbrella; a temple for Brahmā is not mentioned and although the "yogas prescribed by the Vedas uttered by the ancient Brahmā" are mentioned.

Indra was represented by Vajrakkōṭṭam, a temple for his weapon Vajra (thunder-bolt) and by his Irāvatam, the white elephant. There were temples for the Sun, the Moon, for Baladeva, Śāstā, the Nirghanta, and Sri Kailāyam. There were Buddha caityas. There were temples for Muruha and Tirumāl. There were temples at the cremation grounds. There were besides many small temples for many bhūtas and so on. A figure on a pillar was worshipped as Kandirpāvai like the Kambattu-Iḷaiyanār, Muruha on a pillar in Tiru Aṇṇāmalai, in the 14th century, in the story of Aruṇagirināthar.

All religions lived in harmony. Religion was a personal matter and no one interfered in another's worship or religious persuasion. In the later centuries, after the advent of the Nāyanmār and Āḻvār, religions had become fixed as the two, Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava. Others had either been absorbed in these two as for example Brahmā worship or Indra worship, or had been relegated to an insignificant place in society. But we find there were many minor deities with many different types of small temples and varied forms of architecture.

Cakkaravāḷakkōṭṭam

The Tamil Buddhist epic *Maṇimēkhalai* gives an elaborate account of this Kōṭṭam (temple). The account furnishes us with considerable information about temples, their origin, location, function and architecture in the early centuries of the Christian era upto the fifth century A.D. *Maṇimekhalā* deivam, a minor deity of the period plays an important role in the affairs of

the people and in the city of Puhār as well as in the epic in her name. We may recall that the epics say that she was the guardian angel of the family of Kōvalan, who named his daughter by Mādhavi as Maṇimekhalai out of gratitude when the *deivam* saved him from a shipwreck. This deivam worships the temple where the feet of the Buddha are installed. This kōṭṭam was located on the cremation ground and so was called as the temple of that name *suḍu-kāṭṭukkōṭṭam* by the common people. Only this deivam called it the Cakkaravāḷakkōṭṭam because of the many parts that comprise this koṭṭam and the grove surrounding it. The grove came into existence simultaneously with the city of Puhār. This koṭṭam has a fortwall all round with entrances. It has a Kāḷi temple. There are several separate places where the people of the different *varṇas* and *āśramas* are interned on death; tombs small and big are constructed over the places of burial. Pillars are erected for offering *bali* (sacrifice) to the deities governing the cremation ground. There are pials of stone. There are huts for the watchmen. Festoons are hung all round and sheds put up. Dead bodies are burnt here, some are just left here, buried in graves, placed inside and covered with stones or covered over with a burial urn. There are halls under various trees such as the *vāhai* (albizzia), *viḷā* or wood apple, *vanni* (prosopis), jujube (ilandai) etc. Sampāpati, the angel is there in an ever protective capacity. The Koṭṭam was constructed by the celestial sculptor Maya, depicting the entire universe and hence its name *Chakravāḷakkōṭṭam*.

The Mental Temple of Pūsalār

We have a brief mention of the building of a temple in Periya purāṇam. St. Pūsalār constructs a temple - not physically but only mentally. He creates the architecture mentally and goes on building the temple as laid down in the āgamas. The different parts from the foundation to the upāna (the ornamental base layer of the towers and vimāna) and goes on upto the śikhara according to the proper measurements; he does stucco work on the walls, plants a stūpi; the temple well is construc-

ted and then the compound walls and also the temple tank. This is a very short account of a temple construction.

The Mahālinga Concept

Just as the temple is considered as a human body, where all the parts of the temple are equated with the various organs of the body, so also all the great temples are integrated into one whole, with Mahāliṅga, the Liṅga in the Tiruviḍaimarudūr temple as the Centre. The various sub-temples of the main temple are identified here with various other large temples situated at considerable distance from Tiruviḍaimarudūr, but each being considered important for a particular deity which is quite in harmony with the Mahāliṅgam concept. Nandi is in front of the Central shrine, in front of Mahāliṅga: Tiru Āvaḍutuṟai in the east is the Nandi shrine, where traditionally Nandi is important. Tiru Irumpūḷai is the Dakṣiṇāmūrti shrine. Tiruvalañcuḷi - Gaṇeśa. Svāmimalai - Muruha. Tiru Cēyñalūr - Caṇḍeśa. Sūryanār Koyil-Sūrya the sun god. Sīkāḷi-Bhairava; Chidambaram - Naṭarāja. Tiru Ārūr - Somāskanda. All these temples are famous for the deities noted and they are also physically located in the positions in which they should be in a Śiva temple and hence the appropriateness of this concept.

The Architect's Contract – Exceptions

In the past centuries, a very large number of architects and sculptors flourished in the Kāvēri delta. There were many large temples, food was available in plenty, and so these artists always had a job, restoring, renovating or newly constructing temples and stone images. It was usual for the temple authorities to enter into a contract with the architect fixing all the work to be done and the conditions imposed. Before signing the contract, the architect would lay down a clause therein that he could do any job on earth connected with temple construction, except the following five items. His implication was these could no longer be executed by any human being.

1. The Tañjāvūr Temple Vimāna.
2. The Kaḍāramkoṇḍān Madil.

3. The Tiruvīḻimiḻalai Vavvāl neṟṟi
4. The Tiruvalañcuḻi Palakaṇi and
5. The Āvuḍaiyār kōil Koḍuṅkai.

A detailed note on these five architectural items is given below.

The Tañjāvūr temple

The Tañjāvūr temple as is well known can be attempted only by an emperor who had not only the resources of his kingdom within India but also vast and rich resources from overseas. Rājarāja I utilized all these not for himself but for the glorification of God. The construction of the temple still lives in people's memory as a great legend. The scaffolding for the vimāna extended to four miles from Tañjāvūr and the place where the scaffolding commenced is even today known as Sārappaḷḷam. The coping stone at the top of the vimāna is a single piece of stone 25½ feet square weighing 80 tons. It will be a wonder of engineering feat for all time how this single piece of stone had been raised to its place at the top of the vimāna which is 140 feet high. The vimāna has 13 tiers. It is said that the shadow of the vimāna does not fall on the ground; that is, the shadow caused by the sun's movement towards the tropic of cancer and the tropic of capricorn is cast within the vimana itself and does not reach the ground. The marvel of the vimāna is that it is hollow inside. All the stones forming the grand tower are held together in position in a corbelling arrangement only by their own force and mutual pressure, stress and gravitational force. No wonder that architects of the past excluded the 'tower' from their agreements for any construction.

The Kaḍāraṅkoṇḍān Madil

The second is Kaḍāraṅkoṇḍān madil (wall). This Kaḍāraṅkoṇḍān is a small place about three miles east of Tiru Ārūr on the Nāgappaṭṭinam road. There is a very small insignificant Śiva temple there. The place was granted to a soldier of Rajendra Chola I, who participated in his victorious Malayan expedition (Kaḍaram - the modern state of Keḍāh in Malaysia; Kaḍāram koṇḍān - he who conquered Kaḍaram). This is one of

many places having the same name. There is a small Śiva temple here having some fine sculptures. But its wall has attained great fame. The southern wall is still intact though the others had fallen. The wall is built in brick and mud. It used to be said that the thickness of the mud cementing two layers of bricks is even less than a paper's thickness. The wall is there and though plastered over with cement, a small portion has been left open for a view of the layer of bricks. There is a fine legend connected with the construction of the wall. The masons who built the great Tiru Ārūr temple were all living in this place and they used to go to Tiru Ārūr in the morning for work and return home in the evening. They were quite fond of the small temple in their village and they desired to erect a compound wall for it. As they were returning in the evening, each man used to carry two bricks in his hand and go on polishing them by hand, by rubbing one against the other all the three miles of the way, and leave the pieces in the temple. In time when enough bricks had thus accumulated, the walls were raised with those bricks. The sides of the pieces were so smooth that they did not take on any mud at all for cementing. When we place two bricks one over the other, there will normally be some space between and where mud or mortar or cement is applied, there will be some thickness, from a quarter of an inch to half an inch of intervening space. Modern builders in brick and cement are just applying half an inch of cement as a rule. But the great marvel with the wall is that as stated before there is not even the space of a paper's thickness between two pieces of bricks. The mud was also of such nice quality, being well ground and allowed to 'ferment' or become pasty over a period of a week's time or more, so that its existence between the bricks could not be seen: there are just two bricks without any intervening space. The wall has stood the ravages of the wind and rain for over 900 years now.

The Tiru Viḻimiḻalai Vavvālneṟṟi

The third is the Tiru Viḻimiḻalai Vavvālneṟṟi. This is a very fine piece of architecture, where the roof of a maṇḍapam, generally rectangular, is made of patching brick with brick

usually with mortar; the roof so made is always curved, having a lengthwise ridge at the top where the curves on both sides of the rectangle join. There are pillars, on both sides of the rectangle, supporting a beam in brick-mortar, and the curved superstructure rests on the beam. The two sides of the curve of the roof just remain in position by their own weight and thrust. Such roofs are found in almost all temples, where generally the halls at the entrance, like the mahamaṇḍapam and so on, are built on this pattern. They are called *Vavvālneṟṟi maṇḍapam.*

The wonderful feature with the same vavvāl-neṟṟi roofing in Tiru Viḻimiḻalai is that there are no beams at all on the four pillars on either side of the rectangle. One pillar is connected to the other not by a flat horizontal beam but by an arch. There are three arches on the southern and northern sides, based on four pillars each, with a larger arch on the east and the west, resting on two pillars on either side. The whole roof of the maṇḍapam rests on these arches. Not only the roof is curved but the base on which the curves of the roof rests is itself curved. The curve is not vertical but slopes inward. This is a great engineerlng skill of the past and the maṇḍapam is still standing perhaps for over many centuries. No praise can be too high for the imagination and execution of the architect. This has not been imitated any where in Tamilnadu.

The Tiruva'amcuḷi Palahaṇi

The fourth is the *Tiruvalamcuḷi palahaṇi*, lattice work in the Gaṇapati temple at the entrance. This is a huge temple about five miles west of Kumbhakoṇam, famous for its Gaṇapati image made of the root of the *erukku* (*calotropsis*). The workmanship in the granite rock of fine and thin lattice work is a despair for sculptors for all time. It is large in size, long and broad and deservedly famous.

The Āvuḍaiyārkoyil Koḍuṅgai

The fifth is the *Āvuḍaiyārkōyil Koḍuṅgai*. Āvuḍaiyarkōyil is Tirup-Perunduṟai where Maṇikkavacakar received the Grace of

Śiva in the form of a guru. The place is in the Arantāngi taluk now in Pudukkō·ṭai district. The granite construction of the temple though a late work, is a marvel of exquisite workmanship and marvellous beauty. Koḍuṁkai is the curved artistic projection or extended cornice along all the sides of the frontal hall of the temple. Here it is in fine and hard granite, finely shaped and curved, extending to about two feet from the wall. At first sight the koḍuṁkai will look like a piece of fine wooden lattice work. It is so intricately and dexterously worked in that the visitor cannot easily recognize it as stone. The great beauty about it is that at the curved port on it is very thin, a millimetre in thickness, which people would say, a paper's thickness. One cannot but look on with awe and wonder, how great lengths and lengths of granite could have been fashioned in this manner, of huge weights hanging on such thin portions of granite. Both the sides of the koḍuṅgai have been made smooth and polished. But one is amazed at the skill of the sculptor who could just carve out long pieces of granite a millimetre thick at the curves.

To test the thickness, it is said, a Collector who was a Britisher, just fired a gun on the thin portion and the bullet went through: the hole made by the bullet is still pointed out to the visitors.

No wonder these five great and delicate architectural items exhibiting the skill of the sculptors of the past in Tamilnadu had been considered to be irreproducible thereafter.

A Legend of Gangai-Koṇḍa Sōḻapuram

Emperor Rajendra I (1012–1044) was a great warrior who had extended the empire of his father Rājarāja I on all directions in the main land of peninsular India and had successfully taken out many cultural expeditions in the east. He had a large navy with which he was able to conquer and colonise parts of Burma, Malaysia, Indonesia and the other parts. His was not a mere military conquest but a cultural conquest and cultural expansion. He desired to emulate his

great father even in the architectural field and the result was the Gangai koṇḍa sōḷapuram temple and town. Unfortunately both of them had been destroyed during the marauding expeditions of the muslims from the north and the Carnatic wars among the Muhammedan nawabs and between the French and the British. The town in the past was a great fort which lay on the march route of forces from the north towards Tiruchi and so was the object of frequent attack and destructiorn at various periods. The town was completely destroyed but the temple had held out as a great fortress. But what was left of its outer walls, bastions and ramparts were pulled down by the East India Company by 1835 A.D. to construct the Lower Anicut across the River Coleroon, about eight miles from here, to facilate troop movement. Yet what remains of the temple is itself a great wonder to posterity.

A legend is narrated about the construction of the temple *vimāna*. The Tañjavūr temple vimāna presents plain faces on all the four faces. But the Gangaikoṇḍa sōḷapuram vimana may be seen to present a curved face. Each face starts on a broad base, but immediately curves in and tapers to the top. This can be seen clearly when we view it from a distance of a mile away from the temple. The legend offers an explanation for this curvature.

The older *sthapati* (Śilpācārya) of Gangaikoṇḍa Sōḷapuram had died soon after the Vimana rose to some height. His son who was continuing the construction of the temple felt himself unable to cope up with the great task originated by his father. He felt that the vimāna, on its present large base might reach upto the very heavens if he were to proceed on the model of the Tañjāvūr vimana as had been planned by his father. Mounting the top coping stone, which was of eight feet in height, a single stone with a diameter of fourteen feet and weighing many tons presented insurmountable difficulties to him. He wanted to take other expert advice. He had heard of the Śilpi who was constructing the Kamalālāyam tank at the time at distant Tiru Ārūr and who was an eminently experienced

architect. He started out one day to go and consult him at Tiru Ārūr.

Meanwhile, that Tiru Ārūr śilpi had a problem himself. The Kamalālayam tank as we see it today occupies an area of about 33 acres and is quite deep. As he was digging, water was freely flowing in from underground springs and he was unable to stop the flow or bale out the water to admit of construction of the central *nirāḷi maṇḍapam*, the steps and so on. He had known the Gangai-koṇḍa sōḷapuram śilpi and had heard of the great temple he was building. He started out to Gangaikoṇḍa sōḷapuram to meet that śilpi and consult him over his problem. Both of them had known each other and had great mutual respect. But the Tiru Ārūr Śilpi had not heard that the Gangaikoṇḍa sōḷapuram śilpi had passed away and that his son was continuing the work.

Each śilpi seems to have set out for the other's place simutaneously and the journey took some days. The distance was about forty miles, to be covered by foot only. They rested for a night at Nācciyārkōyil, the famous Viṣṇu shrine on the way. They met there by accident and without knowing each other, their talk came to the two great works being done at Gangai koṇḍa Solapuram and Tiru Ārūr.

Then naturally their identity came to be known between them and when the younger man spoke of his problem, the Tiru Ārur śilpi came out with the remark: "Where is your difficulty in a place where pañju is in plenty?"

Gangaikoṇḍa sōḷapuram area was barren of wet cultivation then as it is now, but was full of large trees. Pañju now means cotton but it also meant logs of wood. Immediately, the idea of the Tiru Ārūr śilpi was clear to the Gangai koṇḍa sōḷapuram śilpi. His suggestion was to pile up logs of wood in a long gradient and push up the huge stone on the logs to its position at the top.

He thanked him and was about to resume his return journey, when the older man told him: "I have a similar problem. I

came to consult your father but unfortunately he is no more. I do not know if perhaps you can give a solution to it. You see, I am unable to stop the springs at the bottom of the Kamal layam I am constructing; so I am unable to proceed. I do not know what to do."

The young man immediately replied ; "There is no difficulty for stopping the springs in a place like yours in the Kavēri delta, so full of vaḷai (the scabbard fish)". The Kavēri delta had water every where and in all tanks and rivers millions of the scabbard fish were available. The characteristic of the scabbard fish was that where there was a flow of water, this fish always rushed to the source. His idea was that if the vaḷai could be let into the Kamalālayam tank in large numbers, they would rush up to the springs and in their attempt to push forther to the source would stop the flow by inserting their head into all the springs; rushing to the source was their invariable characteristic.

The Tiru Ārūr śilpi immediately understood the other's meaning and thanking him for his wisdom beyond his age, took leave of him. The Gangai koṇḍa soḷapuram śilpi came back and completed the Vimāna. Now the sides of this conical vimāna are not a plain face but a curved face. The contour can be seen to be a concave bend. The śilpi reduced the size of the base of the vimāna by adopting the form of this curve and managed to reduce its unmanageable height and also successfully completed it placing the coping stone in position.

The story of these two sthapatis is a well known story in Tañjāvūr district.

To avoid difficulties such as these, it became customary for sthapatis in the area to stipulate the five exceptions mentioned earlier when they were negotiating agreements for constructing temples and similar huge public edifices.

Defective Architecture

Incidentally we may refer to the Kailāsanāthar temple constructed by Rājasimha Pallava (686–705 A.D.) whose kum-

bhabhiṣekam was ordered to be postponed by Lord Śiva Himself because He desired to attend the consecration of the mental temple of Pūsalār. When his predecessors like Mahendra and Narasimha had chosen black granite for their stone temples, Rajasimha had chosen sand stone for his most handsome Kailāsanatha temple. This was an inferior stone easily corroded by wind and rain. Obviously knowledge of stone was not full in the day and so this wrong choice. Now after the lapse of nearly thirteen centuries, we see the tragedy of the most unparalleled pieces of temple art decaying before our very eyes, with no possibility of saving them. (It is understood that foreign technology is being utilized for the preservation but it is yet a matter of conjecture how much can be saved.)

We would also like to mention here another case of a wrong choice of stone in the early periods. Durgārcci is a place on the road leading from Nācciyarkōyil to Nannilam in the Tanjāvūr district. This village contains a fine and large temple constructed by Kulōttunga Chōla III (1178-1218 A.D.) The whole temple is in good shape except the Devi shrine. Here the stone beams on the walls of the Devi shrine and its entrance hall had been badly chosen in the Emperor's day. All of them have fully cracked in the middle and the whole superstructure may tumble down any moment. To avoid accidents the portion has been closed and the images inside have been removed to a safer place.

This is a rare instance of the defective judgement of the sculptor in choosing the stones. A second instance has not been noticed anywhere else.

It is strange that the two pillars in the *antarāla* of the Tiru Nanipaḷḷi temple near Sembanār-kōyil in Tañjāvūr district are leaning. All the other walls and pillars are erect, while these two alone are leaning. Probably at an early stage in the construction of the temple and before its finish, the pillars leaned on one side and not willing to set them right because of the great work involved in dismantling and in subsequent

re-construction, the architects completed the construction. They are still there in the same inclined position without any damage to the temple and have been so leaning probably for more than ten centuries. The weight overhead and the thrust sideways have possibly held them in position all these years.

Wood in Temples

We have noted that at some early stage in the evolution of the modern cutstone temples from the very ancient mud walls, wood played some part as an intermediate stage. Wooden temples exist in Kerala but not in Tamil nadu, except in parts of Chidambaram Naṭarāja hall, parts of Tiru Veṇkāḍu temple and so on. Wood was abandoned in Tamilnad architecture presumably because wood could not withstand the heavy lashing of wind and rain followed by the hot sun. But we must note that hundreds of ornamental temple cars were made of wood. Every small temple had a car festival, in Chitrai, Vaikāsi or Paṅguni, when on the nineth day there was invariably the car festival. The making of the temple car, its axles, its body and frame work with its elaborate super-structure, and its innumerable sculptural figures depicting legends and myths were all a specialized work of art requiring great skill not only in carpentry but in architecture and sculpture. Huge colossal cars of such art do exist even today. But where these temples had become impoverished owing to modern land laws, the trustees, and officers of some of these temples have sold away many cars and sculptured parts thereof, to foreigners for the pittance their sale earned and they are now adorning museums in foreign countries. However, temple cars in all their glory and pomp were the delight of the women and children of this land not to say the bhaktas, for several centuries. They were one of the integrating forces in Hindu society which just ignored its customs of untouchability for a day. The car wheels were of wood, several pieces joined together and reinforced externally with steel rods and plates. The proverb was 'Tiru Ārūr Tērazhahu'. This car was rebuilt recently with steel tyred wheels and its run along the streets, formerly of mud but now macadamized, is an event in the religious and social life of the people of Tamilnad.

Marudu, the *Arjuna* tree (*terminalia*) was used for the huge axle and such trees as the *āl* and *atti* (all of the *ficus* family) were used for some other parts. The ficus family trees were generally used for temple doors. They could not be broken by steel axes as they were of a fibrous nature and were capable of withstanding blows from axes. That was one of the reasons why in the wars of South India in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, the Mohammedans and the foreign powers and even the poligors entrenched themselves inside the temples.

Many temples in the past (7th century) had temple cars for the car festivals - some random examples are Tiruppuṅgūr, Tōṇipuram, Tiru Naṟaiyūr, Tiruvānmiyūr (small shrines) and Kāñchi, Nāgai, Tillai and Maṟaikkāḍu (large shrines).

The hand of the same architect who fashioned the temple car for the ninth day festival went into the making of the *sapparam* for the fifth day festival. The *sapparam* is also a chariot like car, drawn along the streets, not during the day as in the case of the chariot, but during the night. The front of the *sapparam* is fashioned exactly like the temple tower, quite wide and tall, broad at the base and a little tapering at the top. The whole is worked in the white tender leaves of the coconut and the palmyrah, with mango leaves interwoven with artistic designs. The dark leaves on the white background present a very good effect at night time. All the deities of the temple are depicted on the face of the sapparam with many pieces of artistic decoration, begun in the afternoon and ended by about 9 p.m. when the deities taken round are mounted on the *sapparam* and it is drawn along the street as usual with special thick ropes. It is not as heavy as the chariot, and so is easily drawn. Another name of this car is *teru-aḍaicān* (the filler of the street because its width occupies the entire street.) Only local talent is employed for this fine artistic work and all the people of the village take part in the preparation of the sapparam in some way or the other. Long before the second world war this fine work of art seems to have disappeared with no chances of any revival.

Speaking of temple cars, we are reminded of a verse of Avvai in *Puṟanāṉūṟū*, Adhikamān was the patron of Avvai and once she had need to tell his enemies about his great valour and might and warn them against any attempt by them to engage him in battle. "Be warned, Ye foes of Adhikamān! Remember, we have a warrior amidst us. Imagine a chariot making architect who can produce eight complete chariots each day. Now he has put all his talent and labour for one month and produced just one wheel of a chariot in a twelve month period. Well, my Adhikamān is like that chariot possessing that wheel as its part." From these words no doubt she was able to strike terror into the hearts of his enemies. Now we have here the concept of a capable chariot maker, an architect of great capacity and strength.

Paintings

The houses of the early Tamil people had paintings done on their walls. Even a later grammarian like Bhavanandi could not help remarking that paintings add beauty for the palace. The white plastered mansions of the city of Puhār we learn had many types of painting displayed on their walls.

Paripāḍal (verse 19) gives us a picture of the temple of Muruha at Tirupparamkuṉṟam, where the people of Madurai go and visit the Paintings exhibited there. On the many paintings it mentions two. One depicts the course of the Sun, the stars and the planets where the Sun and the Moon are the two wheels of the Dhruva Chariot. The second portrays the story of Ahalyā. The visitors point out to the figures in the picture and exclaim: "Look, this cat is Indra, this is Ahalyā, she has become a stone because of the anger of the sage Gautama."

When the Tamil people had the two arts of architecture and sculpture at a highly developed level, it goes without saying that the art of painting also was there in the land in a greatly developed state. We mentioned the *ōviyanūl*, the treatise on the painting art, but the book like many other works on art, has been lost. Yet we know that painting formed an important

aspect of the architecture of temples. The images of deities therein helped to draw the *bhakti* and devotion of the public to themselves but the paintings helped to impress on the people scences and situations. Leaving aside the Ajanta frescoes which belong to an early period, we have the frescoes in the Tañjāvūr temple which were almost contemporary with the construction of the temple. These paintings had been coated over with mortar and *chunam* but fortunately they have all been carefully removed and we have now a good idea of the high qualities of temple painting of about a thousand years ago. Such pictures are now available at Śrī Rangam, Madurai, Tiru Aṇṇāmalai and Rāmeśvaram besides.

Incidentally, we may mention, the illustrations in the Madurai temple help us to have a proper idea of the development of the Tamil script over the centuries. One picture noticed by Dr. R. Nagaswamy, Director of the Tamilnad Archaelogy department, deserves notice here. It is a colour painting of Rani Maṅgammāl worshipping at Madurai. It mentions Maṅgammāḷ as Dēvi Maṅgammāl. In writing the word letter *de* in Dēvi it gives two loops one over the other ே in the symbol for ē (long as ye) prefixed to the letter *da* (தேவி). Earlier, there was no difference between a short and a long e and both were written in an identical manner as ெ. This painting uses the symbol probably for the first time and it marks a great evolution in the development of the script. The date of the painting is A.D. 1710 and it goes back to many years before Beschi.

Concept of the Vāstu Purusha

The house was always figured as the body of a divine purusha. He was named Vāstu and there are many legends attached to him. Vāstu purusha was a powerful asura who appeared from the beads of sweat which fell on earth from the forehead of Śiva during His Antakāsura vadha. When he was harming the celestials, Śiva caused the celestials including Brahmā to sit on his prostrate form making him immobile. Appeasement of this Vāstu purusha by several rituals called Vāstu Śānti would be beneficial to house building and house occupation.

Books would say that the features of a human body are 32 (called *purusha sāmudrikā lakṣaṇa*). Similar 32 *lakṣaṇas* are required to be introduced into the building of a new house by the architect. This is mentioned in Perumkathai, when describing the bed chamber of Udayanan the hero (1.33.100–103):

எண்ணூல் இலக்கணத்து நுண்ணூல் வாங்கித்
திணைவிதியாளர் இணையுற வகுத்த
தமனியக் கூடத்துத் தலையள வியன்ற
மயன்விதி யன்ன மணிக்காழ் மல்லத்து.

"The sculpture drew the plan for the palace and its golden hall incorporating therein the 32 features and constructed the bed room with pillars of gems as laid down by Maya." In all similar references of early Tamil poems we find Maya involved invariably and the plan drawn up according to the śāstras. The measurements for the house are always measured in relation to the *aṅgula*, the unit of measure here; this is always the length of the first (bottom) section of the middle finger of the *yajamān* (the owner or the organiser of the Construction).

Stucco Work

As mentioned earlier, most of the *vimānas* and *gōpuras* have many legendary figures in large size worked in stucco and brightly coloured to attract people even from a distance. Besides these the Dvāra pālakas, where they are not done in stone, are finely worked in stucco and beautifully painted. Similarly Mahālakṣmī, who is always placed in a separate sub-shrine at the north west of every Śiva temple, is some times constructed in stucco. The *gajas* (elephant) on either side are also done in stucco. Many of the forms so done exhibit great attention to artistic detail.

The main Bull form in front of the *mūla liṅga* in the *outer prākāra* is some times done in stucco, when the Bull (wrongly called Nandi) is required to be of a huge size. Temples like Tanjāvūr and Tirup-Puṅgūr have the Bull done in stone weighing several tons but some other temples like Tiru–

vidaimarudūr and Tiru Āvaḍuturai have it done in stucco in huge size.

Stucco work may also be seen in the fashioning of the elephants and horses which are made of huge size and placed in front of the Śāsta temples. Here the main frame of the huge animal form is done by the potter but further embellishments are done in stucco.

Tanks and Wells

In any consideration of the scheme of things in Temple architecture in Tamil Nadu, the tanks play an important part. We know that in the case of the *pushkaraṇi* and the Śivagaṅgā, they are located inside the temples. The place set apart for a tank is generally in the northern or north eastern corridor of the outer prākāra, in the scheme of temple architecture. In many cases of course they are out side the temple, on the eastern side. Temple tanks are considered as holy as the temple itself and even today we can see people having their ceremonial bath in such tanks, and doing their *sandhyā vandanam* and *japam* on its corridors and steps. Water for the *abhiṣēka* of the deity within is taken from the temple tank or the temple well and in some cases from the Kāvēri river if it happens to flow close by.

We note that both the tanks and wells were integral parts of temple architecture. *Peruṅkathai* gives a general picture of tanks of public utility. They had an inlet for the inflow of fresh water from a river and an outlet for the draining of old water. The well had an entrance and a gate, with ivory pillars all round connected by a fence of steel spikes. (These were apparently the types of large wells as we find in Chingleput and Chittoor districts where people can climb down to the very water's edge; these are not the types we find in Tañjāvūr district where water is taken out with buckets outside with a pulley or piccotah). 'Bad' (evidently unclean) people were not allowed into the tanks. Steps led to the water's edge and there were spacious corners. There were covered halls and

corridors all round, and places for *japa* etc. *Peruṅkathai* 2-2-38-43.)

Silappadhikāram mentions three tanks in Aḷaharkoyil, possessing supernatural powers. They are mentioned by name as *Puṇṇiya saraṇam, Bhavakāraṇi* and *Iṣṭa siddhi*. Like the well known hot springs of the modern day, which are reputed to have curative effects on the bather, these also seem to have had some rare powers.

Sōmakuṇḍam and *Sūryakuṇḍam* of Puhār are mentioned by *Silappadhikāram*. They are identified with two of the three *Mukkuḷam* of modern Tiru Veṇkāḍu, which are celebrated in Śaiva religious lore as the tanks responsible for getting the son Meykaṇḍār by Accuta kaḷappāḷar of distant Peṇṇāgaḍam.

Many tanks connected with temples are celebrated in religious history. It may not be out of place to mention some of them. The *Kamalālayam* of Tiru Ārūr has been mentioned earlier. Its very size is staggering. The proverb is that the Temple at Tiru Ārūr, the Kamalalayam tank and the *Seṅgaḷunīr ōḍai*, the stream which supplies the Nelumbiyam flower for the temple *pūjā*, each occupy an area of 33 acres.

The *Mahā magham* tank at Kumbhakoṇam deserves special mention. It has a festival like the Kumbhamēḷā of Prayāg once in twelve years attracting two million people to this small city of a hundred thousand population. Govinda Dikṣitar constructed 16 small temples on the banks of the tank, with *maṇḍapam* and stone steps.

Iḷamaiyākkinār Kuḷam in Chidambaram where eternal youth was conferred on St. Tirunīlakaṇṭhar, the potter and his wife, the Turutti or Kuttālam temple tank which cured St. Sundara of a disease, the Golden Lotus tank of Madurai where the legends connected with the poet Nakkīrar were enacted and which had the Sangham chair which used to throw off undeserving poets, the Tiruvaiyāṟu tank where St. Appar was vouchsafed a vision of Kailāsa, the Avināśi temple where St.

Sundarar brought back to life a brahmin boy eaten up by a crocodile, and the Tiru Mudukunram tank where he dropped his gold to be recovered later at the Tiru Ārūr Kamalālayam and the Tirup-Pungūr tank to the west of the temple dug up for the sake of the harijan saint Nandanār are some of the tanks which require special mention.

Incidentally we may note that the temple well is important in the construction of the temple. It is held equally sacred and people who do a *pradakṣiṇa* of the sanctum always make it a point to circumambulate it. The walls were generally constructed in the Kāvēri area with bricks cut in fermented finely ground, dried and burnt. The temple well is not a mere well; it has a personality and a name. In Chidambaram it is the *Paramānanda kūpam* (the well that imparts supreme bliss) and so on. Unlike the temple tank, which is always unclean and covered with moss, the temple well is uniformly kept clean and in all places, it is the source of good drinking water supply for the whole area. We do not know how it happens, but we do see that while the water in the entire village is saltish and unpotable, the water here is always good and wholesome and potable. All the *agrahāram* people and the other members of the public take their drinking and cooking water from the temple tank. In many places, it is the only source of drinking water. How were the architects able to locate the site for the good water spring and at what depth?

We hear of a treatise named *Kūval nūl*, "the science of wells." Probably it dealt with water divining and finding out whether water will be available at a place, or where water is available, whether it can be had at a practicable depth, and whether the water will be good. Even educated people practise the art of water divining in the modern days with varying degrees of success; but we see that in the case of the temples it was always a case of one hundred per cent success. *Silappadhikāram* and *Tolkāppiyam* commentator Naccinārkkiniyar refer humorously to avoid regions which had wells where no pot was ever lowered! *"Kuḍam puhākkūval-koḍumkānam."*

Secular Architecture

Though temple construction formed the work of the major section of the architects, they had yet other types of non-religious construction work such as palaces and houses, wedding halls and dance halls, tanks and wells, besides such special items of work like the swimming pools attached to palaces, forts and fortresses. Some of the thoughts found in the literature on these and allied subjects will be mentioned here.

Palaces :

We have a detailed account of how the *manai muhūrttam* of the inauguration of the foundation work for a king's palace is done. *Manai muhūrttam* is usually done in the middle of the month of Chitrai, any day after the tenth. The writer explains by this date it is possible to note the direction of the shadow caused by the sun, by planting two poles; he seems to signify that the sun will be exactly overhead by this date (the poem was sung in Madurai by Nakkīrar on Pāṇḍiyan Nedum Cheḷiyan) and refer this date for the muhūrttam; the muhūrttam is done at fifteen *nāḻihais* or 12 noon. The architects, learned in the *śilpa śāstras* draw the lines right, note the directions, and note (worship) the deities governing the different quarters and then mark out the ground plan, the gates or doorways and the halls etc. Then they enclose the area within tall fortwalls re-inforced with gates fitted with iron bolts and plates and painted with red sulphate of mercury (vermilion).

The houses are fitted with double door having bolts, and handles shaped like lilies with newly opened petals. Over the door way is placed a beam on which is carved the figure of Lakṣmī with a red nelumbium flower and a she-elephant on either side of her. The beam is called *uttaram*, the star of that name. The door-way is tall, Deities dwell in the door way and so oil and white mustard are applied to the door posts. The gates of the tower are kept very large to admit of elephants holding banners going in easily. The *kavari mā* (Tibetan yak) with its long hairs and the swan with its short legs are frisking in the front [yards. Sand is spread in the yard. Tiru Mahal

(Lakṣmi) dwells there. Horses, taken out of their stables are here munching the grass given to them. The water spout shaped like the gargoyle leading out the water from the open terrace where the king would be enjoying the moonlight is letting out water with a noise equalling a water fall. Peacocks with their fine feathers are alarmed at the sound and make sweet noises. *Yavana* lamps are burning, lit with thick wicks and oil. There are apartments where none but the Pāṇḍiya could enter. Banners resembling the rainbow are waving on the turrets. The pillars are stout, round and dark like blue gems. The tall walls are finely polished looking as though they are made of copper. Fine creepers with many flowers are painted thereon. Such is the palace of the King.

It is usual for writers to say that craftsmen from *Magadha*, smiths from *Mahārāṣtra*, blacksmiths from *Avanti*, and *yavana* carpenters worked in co-ordination with local craftsmen and produced golden looking halls: the walls were smeared with sandal. (The word Yavanar, coming from Ionian, is used in many contexts and often it means just a foreigner, Yavana lamps, yavana wine, yavana caskets fitted with intricate padlocks and yavana door-keepers are frequently mentioned). The halls were roofed with gold plates; pearl wreaths were hung round them (according to *Maṇimēkhalai*).

Palaces had women's quarters called *antappuram* where men had no admission. There were artificial hillocks within the palace complex for the enjoyment of women, who did not go out of the palace precincts. All the buildings were built in brick and mud, or brick and mortar. The fort walls were constructed out of clay, well fermented and finely ground.

Doors were all decorated with figures in circles.

Dressing rooms naturally were part of the palace make-up. They had no windows, no air and no light. They were all covered over and were not mere rooms but beautiful halls.

The kings had always a secret way of exit from the palace to a safe place, in times of threat. Though they were in no

danger of any revolution within the country necessitating their abdication or flight, the threat of the enemy was always there and each palace was provided with a *surungai* or secret exit.

Perumkathai (c. 700 A.D.) gives us an idea of the component parts of a king's palace. The maid of Padmāvati draws up a picture of the palace as desired by Udayanan. Here follow details about the parts of the palace. The palace was circular in shape. The walls encircling it had many angles (probably for the palace guards to stay in and when necessity arose, to aim their missiles at the enemy). There was a tower on the gateway. There were some false floors, where the unwary walker or enemy was simply sucked in. There was the mechanical and automatic swimming pool. There was an arbour of young shade-giving trees. Peacocks abounded in the fragrant groves. There were the royal women's quarters; the zealously guarded armoury; the granary; the large gateway at the entrance besides the narrow gate; the large audience hall; the dance hall; the places of worship, dedicated to the many important deities; the stables; the elephant yards; the quarters for the infantry; wide fortresses; the artificial hillocks built in stucco for the play of the peacocks; and dark rooms (probably to serve as dungeons). This description may give us an idea of the scope of the architecture for the king's palace.

The Sangham *puram* anthology *Puranānūru* refers to a number of the Sēra, Chōḷa and Pāṇḍiya kings by mentioning the part of the palace where they breathed their last. One example is "Kūḍakārattuttuñjiya - Māran Vaḷudi" - the Pāṇḍiya who passed away from the balcony (or open terrace). Similar mentions are the following; the Sēras - Sikkal paḷḷi, Kōṭṭambalam; the Pāṇḍiyas-Kūḍakāram, Ilavandihaip-paḷḷi, Veḷḷi ambalam; the Chōḷas - Kuḷamurram, Kariyāru, Kurāppaḷḷi, Ilavandihaippaḷḷi.

A word may be said about these places. Koṭṭambalam and Veḷḷiyambalam are temple halls. Probably the kings were placed before the Divine Presence in the temple in the hope that It might cure them. Kūḍakāram is a balcony in the

palace where the King might have been placed for better air. Ilavandihaippaḷḷi is the chamber adjacent to the swimming pool, Ilavandihai has been described separately; the others are all camping places where the kings had died.

Houses :

The houses had what is now called *iḍaikaḻi*, the intermediate hall and corridor between the outer pial and the inner dwelling portion. We have the famous story of the three First Āḻvār meeting on the *iḍaikaḻi* of a house in Tirukkōvalūr. Of course there was the pial, *teṟṟi* or *tiṇṇai* which was intended to offer a resting place for any wayfarer. We have the famous temple of Vishṇu sanctified in the songs of Tiru Maṅgai Āḻvār as *Tiru Nāṅgūr Tirut-Teṟṟi ambalam* indicating that Tirumāl here was housed in the past just on the pial of a house, round which large temple later sprang up.

There is besides an interesting feature about the ordinary village house pial. The entrance to the house (the main door way) was never flush with the road kerb as we see in the urban areas (non-bungalow type) today. There was always a narrow corridor four feet wide, parallel to the road, running the full width of the house, from one end to the other. This was a concession to the poor untouchables who were free to step into this area when there was a heavy downpour of rain to save them from getting drenched. After the corridor (called aaḷ-oḍi, the labourer's walk), then came the pial, which was about two and a half feet high. This also ran the length of the house and was about five to six feet wide. Close to the wall on the pial, there was a raised pillow-like structure in mud and brick about four inches high and nine inches wide. This was intended to be a comfortable pillow for the wayfarer who was always welcome to spend the night on the pial, if he has got no other place to go and lay himself down. This mud plastered pillow was known humorously as the *māppiḷḷai-talayaṇai*, the son-in-law's pillow; any one can use it uninvited: These little arrangements-the *āḷōḍi*, the pial and its brick pillow all indicate the ordinary house-holders's concern for the

unknown way-farer even in the matter of his own house building.

The walls were generally of mud and they were always pasted with cow dung. There were windows or ventilators fashioned like flowers. Houses were of seven floors - *eḻunilai māḍam;* all the early Tamil writing refers to the house as *eḻunilai māḍam*; on the top floor was the open terrace, the *nilā muṟṟam* where the people enjoyed the moon. Alternatively, this may mean the house with seven door ways, one leading into the next, thus having seven apartments. But a line in the *Veṟṟi Vāḷkai* (16th century) would suggest that the term *eḻunilai māḍam* would refer only to a house with seven floors.

எழுநிலை மாடம் கால் சாய்ந் துக்குக்
கழுதை மேய பாழ் ஆயினும் ஆகும்.

Here the reference to the foundation giving way and the building tumbling down definitely implies a structure of seven floors. The author here refers to the transience of riches.

There was a store room for storing jewels; the people in the past seem to have had plenty of jewels, to require a separate room for storing them; and secondly there was no burglary and they were in no need of safe vaults. There was no gold control or wealth tax. Houses had separate rooms for storing their weaponry and for performing their *pūjā*.

The outer side of the houses was painted with vermilion as we find some temple walls painted even today with vertical patches of red and white alternately.

Tamilnad is situated geographically between the equator and the tropic of cancer. We are living in this area and during summer, we have a cool breeze from the south; this breeze is called *tenṟal* and it is considered to be pleasant and healthgiving. Amatory legends would hail the south wind as the chariot of Manmatha, the God of Love. The Āgamas declare that the bed room in the living quarters should be south-facing to admit of the enjoyment of this breeze. A line in the Sangham poem *Neḍunalvāḍai* says that because the season now is the winter

season where the unwelcome cold wind *vāḍai* is blowing from the north, the two front doors are tightly closed and locked and people do not go to the windows of their bed room where the gentle *tenṟal* breeze would flow mildly. We find the concept of the āgamas expressed here.

Cottages for the poor people were always there, pasted with cow-dung. They are called *kuccarak-kuḍihai*, built by Gujaratis (gayaras) who were presumbably expert architects in constructing the houses for the masses. The cottages also were pasted with red earth. Pasting with red earth is common in the modern day also. Brahmin colonies or *agrahārams* can easily be distinguished today by the vertical stripes (about six inches wide) of alternate red and white paintings on the front of each house of the earlier rural pattern (not the R. C. type of modern houses.) Temple walls in areas where the brahmin community congregates in large numbers, are also painted likewise in red and white on all the outer walls. All around the colonies of cottages, there was a fence of dry bamboo twigs.

There were also hermitages for the sages and the spiritually inclined which were probably separate from the living quarters of the householders. These had separate rooms for *Japa* (incantation and meditation) and resting rooms for visiting pilgrims. There were rooms where the *avatārs* of Viṣṇu were exhibited in pictures on the walls. These hermitages were not dreary; they were handsomely constructed in cut stone.

There is a 16 roomed chamber in the Dharmapuram monastery which goes by the name of Patināṟu ōḍukkam (the 16 step in-volution). Every one has forgotten the purpose of the 16 rooms today, but yet people just mention it.

The well known *Aṣṭāṅga yoga* is just as many steps to a higher yoga in Śaiva Siddhānta yogic practice called Prāsāda yōga. Here the aspirant is taught by the realized master a yoga in 16 steps called prāsāda yōga. Here they are trained in the practice of taking the *Kuṇḍalini śakti* from the initial

stage which is called the *Medhā Kalā* :to the ultimate 16th called Unmanā kalā which would result in the union with Śiva. Each kalā gives him an experience of the step where he sees the śakti or the soul through the śakti - its size, form, colour, duration of time etc. The 16 chambers were the practising chambers for the aspirants in the Maṭha practising this yoga in the 16 stepped-kalās.

Wedding Hall:

In *Perumkathai* we have a description of a wedding hall and of how it was prepared by the architect (*silpiyal-pulavar*). Astrologers and architects measured out the place by sketching lines, it was made to a size of 87 *kōl*. The ground was prepared by removing pieces of stone, postsherds, grass, charcoal, paddy hask and hair. It was decorated with several pieces of artistic workmanship which we are not familiar with.

தெய்வம் பேணிக் கைவினைக் கம்மத்துச்
சத்தி முகமே சக்கர வட்டம்
பத்தி வரிப்பே பாவை நுடக்கம்
குஞ்சர முகமே நந்தி மலரணை
எஞ்சாத் திருவடி எனப்பெயர்

Here we have a mention of six types of the bridal dais in the wedding hall; satti mukham, chakkara vaṭṭam, pattivarippu, pāvai nuḍakkam, kuñjara mukam and nandi malar. Of these, nothing is now known about them except nandi-malar. Nandi-malar is clearly the Nandiyāvarttam, one of the types of construction dealt with in the Sanskrit Āgamas and Śilpa śāstras. This takes its name from the flower nandiyavarttam (bot. tabernamontana). Chakkara vaṭṭam might have been circular in shape; kuñjara mukam like the face of the elephant. (It may be recalled that .some of the vimānas over the sanctum in the Śiva temple are in the gaja prishṭa form-the posterior shape of a reclining elephant). Pāvai nuḍakkam might have been like the form of a reclining damsel.

Dance Halls:

The Tamil language had three divisions *iyal, isai* and *nāṭakam*, (poetry, music and dance). Dance was of two

categories again *nāṭya* or dance and *nāṭaka* or drama. For dance, drama and music, a stage was necessary. *Silappadhikāram* gives a detailed account of the stage and its construction.

First of all it is concerned with the location or site. Any place cannot be suitable for putting up a dance hall. The site is first examined. The architect is the person competent to examine this and plan and finish the dance hall. He is called here the *Śilpāchārya.* The characteristic of the site is defined in detail.

The commentator says that all these are done according to the āgamas. The *Kāmikāgama* and the other important āgamas like the Kāraṇa, Ajita etc. give elaborate instructions for selecting a site suitable for temple construction. This is followed by the Śivācāryas even in the modern day. The same procedure is adopted for other architecture by the Śilpācāryas, who were masters in the relevant Sanskrit scriptures. "The dance hall should be in the proximity of temples, brahmin quarters, green groves, tanks and wells. It must be in the heart of the city facing the car streets and should be free of many natural defects. It should not be having the dust of pits already dug, should not have been worked on earlier, and should not have the consequent mud smell, should not be sweet soil, should not be hard, should not have any bones, paddy husk or be milky, should not be a clay soil, a saline soil, a boggy soil (marsh), ashen soil, soil of fine dust etc. Land is divided into three classes – the hard, soft and middling and these are described in detail. Site is to be selected examining these features.

Then the measurement. The measuring pole is to be chosen as the healthy and tall bamboo of sacred hills like the Podiyil hills. Distance between two joints is one *chāṇ* (equal to nine inches). The measuring standard is one *kōl* (unit) equal to 24 times the length of an ideal man's thumb. An ideal man is defined as he who is neither very tall nor very short. The stage is to be seven kōl broad, eight kōl long and one Kol high from the ground. The height of the stage is to be four

kōls. The stage should have two doorways, entrance and exit, space for the exit of the actors, for their stay during acting; in front of the stage there is the audience hall for the ruler and his courtiers and around these, space for the general public. Overhead are the four *varṇa bhūtas* to whom obeisance will be made. Standing lamps are so placed that their shade does not fall on the stage or on the audience. There are three types of curtains – one is drawn on one side; another which could be drawn on from two sides and a third which is dropped down from above to accommodate the celestials. The stage has an artistically decorated canopy, garlands in white, gold and red colours are hung on the stage.

It is amazing that this description of the making of a stage at a period two thousand years ago, takes into account all the arrangements of a modern stage.

Ilavantihai

Attached to palaces there were what may be compared to modern swimming pools, *Ilavantihai.* These were mechanically worked swimming pools which formed part of the palace complex. They were fitted with automatic mechanical contrivances which would fill the tank when all water had been drained from it and it became empty, and would let out superfluous water when the tank became full and was overflowing. Such an automatic pool was called *Ilavantihai :*

நிறைக்குறின் நிறைத்துப் போச்குநிற் போக்கும்
பொறிப் படை அமைந்த பைங்கில வந்திகை

(பெருங்கதை *1-40, 311-2*)

Ilavantihai is mentioned by *Silappadhikāram* and the early *Nighaṇṭu* works also. The ruling monarchs, Choḷa and Pāṇḍiya, seem to have had such *ilavantihai* separate from their palaces. Close to these they had also special palaces where they went and stayed. A Choḷa who died while he was staying in such a palace is called Ilavantihaip-paḷḷi-tuñjiya Nalamkiḷḷi Sēṭcenni. A Pāṇḍiya who died in such a palace is called Ilavantihaip-paḷḷi tuñjiya Nanmāṛan. Several poets have sung the praises of this Nanmāṛan.

So also there were mechanical wells and water falls where only the fall of the water could be seen but the stream leading to it was hidden from view. There were sparkling halls constructed out of crystal rock which like glass were transparent. We have the well known *paḷikkarai maṇḍapam* in Puhār described in *Maṇimēkhalai*. The inside could be seen from outside and the persons therein could be seen but if they spoke or made any sound it could not be heard outside. These were probably crystal palaces like the Crystal Palace of the British monarch in the modern day. Any way we are left wondering what these *ilavantihai* and *paḷikkarai*, were like and how they functioned.

The Eyil

Some fortresses in the Sangham age had been considered to be impregnable. One such was the Kānap-pēreyil (modern town of Kāḷaiyār koyil in the Rāmanāthapuram district, with a sanctifed Śiva Temple). Vēnkai-mārpan (the chief who had the *pterocarpus* as his floral emblem) was the ruler there and he was suppressed by Pāṇḍiya Ugrapperuvaḷudi.

Another frequent mention is the Tūngeyil; a Choḷa is celebrated as the destroyer of this fort, the Tūngeyil; he is celebrated as Tūngeyil-erinda-toḍittōḷ-cembiyan. There are many references to the Choḷa of this name and naturally this cannot be mere fiction or legend but should have been a historical occurrence. Tūngeyil is perhaps the Flying fortress. A fighter plane bearing this name shot into fame during the Second World war from the British. Śiva is celebrated in the *purāṇas* as the destroyer of the Three Flying Cities of three asuras. We may call them the Flying fortresses. Three asuras called Tripura-asuras flew those fortresses, brought them down on places they wished to destroy and caused great havoc. But this fortress is mentioned in the realm of fact. Some times it is also referred to as three fortresses. We have now no idea of how they were constructed and what exactly the word *tūngu* signified; 'tūngu' meant in that period 'to hang down', Probably

it was a swinging fortress, like the swinging bridge of Tippu which collapsed many years ago, after two centuries of existence. Any way, we can only marvel at the architectural skill which made such a fort possible.

The Chairman in his concluding remarks thanked the Leader for his interesting speech, and the audience.

II

REPORTS OF SEMINARS

A Seminar was conducted under the auspices of the Institute at 4-15 P.M. on Monday, the 17th August 1981 in Room No. 10, University Departmental Buildings, on "the Origin of Civilization". The following is a report of the seminar:

Chairman :

Dr. K. K. Pillay, M.A., D.Litt., D.Phil (Oxon), Director, Institute of Traditional Cultures.

Leader :

Dr. A. Krishnaswami

The Chairman introduced the Leader and called upon him to speak:

Civilization or Society as the Unit of Historical Study:

Dr. A. Krishnaswami: We are living in an age in which the Nation State is taken as the unit for writing and teaching history. Histories have been written taking the Nation as the unit and we have only National histories at the present day. Thus we have the history of England, the history of France, the histories of the U.S.A., Russia and China. The League of Nations of 1920 and the United Nations Organisation of 1945 have been organised taking the *nation* as a unit. We identify a civilisation with a nation and we have the American, Chinese, Indian, English, French, German, African etc. civilisations. This seems to be a wrong approach to the study of civilisation and to the writing of the history of civilisations. Nation and Nationalism are very recent ideals whereas civilisation or society seems to be a very ancient one. A civilisation may consist of several Nations and National history is parochial and partial

when compared to the history of a civilisation or society. For example, the history of England or France or Spain is part of the history of Western civilisation. American histories are merely the history of the expansion of the Western civilisation in the two Americas. On the basis of civilisation as the unit of historical study we can divide the whole world into seven living civilisations or societies as follows:

(1) The Western Society comprising of the Western part of the European continent roughly drawing a line from Norway and Sweden in the north to Italy in the south. This civilisation may also be called the Western Christian Society.

(2) The Orthodox Christian Society comprising of the South Eastern part of Europe upto Russia in the East.

(3) The Islamic Society comprising of the countries of Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Arabia, Egypt, Pakistan, Afghanistan etc where Islam is the dominant religion of the people.

(4) The Hindu Society consisting of the whole of India minus Pakistan and including Ceylon.

(5) The Russian Society which could be identified with the whole of the Soviet Union.

(6) The Far Eastern Society which may be regarded as inclusive of China, Japan and other parts of South East Asia.

(7) The North American Society consisting of the U.S.A., Canada and Mexico. We may also include the Latin American countries in the American Society.

Thus, instead of dividing the world into innumerable Nations who are members of the United Nations Organisation, we can have a world organisation on the basis of civilisations and call it United Civilisations. The above Civilisations could be called Civilisations of the third and fourth generations which grew out of Secondary civilisation. The Secondary civilisations grew out of Primary civilisations and the Primary civilisations arose out of Primitive Societies.

Primary civilisation	*Secondary Civilisation*
Egyptiac Sumeric	Babylonic, Hittite and Assyrian, Iranic and Arabic.
Indus Culture	Indic Society
Shang Culture	Chinese or the Sinic
Minoan	Hellenic and Syriac
Yucatec	Mayan and Aztecian
Peruvian	Inca civilisation

Secondary and Tertiary Civilisations:

(1) Hellenic	The Western Christian and Orthodox Christian Societies.
(2) Iranic and Arabic	The Islamic Civilisation
(3) Orthodox Christian Society	The Russian Society
(4) The Chinese or Sinic Society	The Far Eastern Society
(5) Indic Society	The Hindu Society
(6) Western Society	The North and South American Societies.

The Primary civilisations produced within their wombs rudimentary religions such as Olympian, Pantheon, Marduk-Bel worship, Osiris and Isis worship and the Vedic Gods. It was the Jews who originated the monotheistic religion of Judaism among the primary civilisations. The monotheistic religion introduced by Akhnaton in Egypt did not survive his death. The Secondary civilisations such as the Indic, Iranic and Arabic and the Syriac produced the three great higher religions of Hinduism, Christianity, and Islam. Out of Hinduism (Saivism and Vaishnavism) grew the Hindu Society. Out of the Syriac and Hellenic societies arose Christianity which became the mother of the two societies, namely the Western Christian Society and the Orthodox Christian or the Byzantine Society. Out of the Iranic and Arabic societies arose Islam which is the chrysalis of the Islamic Society. Therefore according to

A. J. Toynbee civilisations come into existence for the sake of producing Higher religions. In the birth and growth of civilisations there is repetition in other words History repeats itself. But the repetition of civilisations are not vain repetitions like the waves on a seashore. Civilisations repeat themselves with a purpose and the purpose is the creation of Higher religions such as Hinduism, Christianity and Islam. Higher religions are those which recognise one Supreme God, such as Siva, Vishnu, Yahweh, Allah and the Father who is in Heaven. Rudimentary religions are those which emphasise the importance of a multiplicity of Gods.

While the Secondary civilisations produced higher religions out of which the Tertiary civilisations arose, the primary civilisations such as the Egyptiac, the Sumeric, the Indus Culture and the Shang culture seem to have originated not from higher religions but from other causes and factors. We have now to seek the causes of the origin of primary civilisations.

Race and Geographical environment as the cause of the origin of civilisation :

Historians both Western and non-Western, have maintained that racial superiority and favourable physical environments were the eauses of the origin of civilisation. Race is a term used to denote the possession of some distinctive and inheritable quality in particular groups of human beings. The colour of the skin of a person is considered to produce certain intellectual and physical specialities which made them superior to others. Western scholars believed that the people belonging to the Aryan race were superior to the brown, yellow and black races. Ethnologists called this white race as the Nordic race and divided into three classes, namely, the Nordic, Alpine and Mediterranean. They claim that the Nordic race had contributed to the origin of five civilisations, namely the Hellenic, the Indic, the Western, the Russian, Orthodox Christian and the Hittite. The Alpines had contributed to nine, namely, the Sumeric, the Hittite, the Hellenic, the Western, Orthodox Christian, Iranic, Egyptiac, the Minoan and the Russian. The

Mediterraneans had contributed to ten, namely, the Egyptiac, the Supmeric, the Minoan, the Syriac, the Hellenic, the Western Orthodox Christian, the Iranic, Arabic and the Babylonie. The brown race, that is the Dravidians in India and the Malays in Indonesia have contributed to two, namely the Indic and the Hindu. The yellow race had contributed to three, Sinic, Chinese and Japanese. The red race of America were the sole contributors to the four American civilisations, namely the Yucatee, the Mayan, Peruvian and the Andean. The black races have not contributed to any civilisation. Though the white races hold the lead, yet it is to be remembered that there are many white peoples who are as innocent of having made any contribution to any civilisation as the blacks themselves. More than half of our civilisations are based on contributions from more than one race. The whole subject is exceedingly obscure. Therefore we have to dismiss the theory that a superior racial quality was the cause of the origin of civilisation.

Geographical environment :

The ancient Greeks found their explanation for differences of culture in differences of geographical habitat, soil and climate. The race theory finds the differentiating cause in the diversity of human physique, the environment theory in the diverse climatic and geographical conditions in which different societies live. We can test the geographical theory in two places, the Eurasian Steppe and the Nile valley. The Eurasian and Afrasian Steppes had prodnced the nomadic type of society. But the prairies of North America, the Llanos of Venezula, the pampas of Argentina and the Australian grasslands had not produced nomadic societies of their own.

Egypt has the same dry climate as the vast area surrounding it but it has an unfailing supply of water and alluvium provided by the river Nile. The creators of the Egyptiac civilisation used this asset to create a society in contrast with the nomadism on either side of them In the lower valley of the Euphrates and Tigris we find a similar physical condition and a similar society, namely, the Sumeric. But the Andean civilisation in

South America fourished not in a river valley but in a high plateau without either rainfall or water sources. The forests on both the sides of the Amazon river have not produced any civilised people. The basin of the Congo-river in Africa has not produced any civilisation. The Minoan civilisation flourished in the islands surrounding the island of Crete in the Mediterranean Sea. But a similar environment failed to evoke another civilisation of the Archipelago type round the inland sea of Japan. The Shang culture and the Sinic civilisation grew in the basin of the yellow river. But the Danube valley in Europe with the same climate, soil and plain failed to produce a similar civilisation. So we can conclude that neither racial superiority nor geographically favourable conditions are responsible for the origin of civilised life.

Origin of Civilisation :

From Mythological and historical examples A. Toynbee has come to the conclusion that 'challenges' which primitive peoples had to experience and the way in which they were able to 'respond' to those challenges were responsible for the origin of civilisation and civilised life. By civilised life we mean that people must lead a settled life in homes built by their efforts, take food produced by themselves from the mother earth without depending on nomadic and hunting excursions. They must be able to control nature to a certain extent instead of being servile to the fury and wantonness of Nature. Further, the difficulties and challenges which the primitive societies had to experience were at the basis of their civilised life. To quote Toynbee we must find that "creation is the outsome of an encounter, that genesis is a product of interaction".

Genesis of the Egyptiac civilisation :

Historians have very often assumed that physical environment had been a static factor. They imagined that the present day climatic condition prevailed in several regions of the world some six thousand years ago. What we find as a vast Sahara desert was not found in the same condition some six thousand years ago. "The cyclones that to-day traverse central Europe

then passed over the Mediterranean and the northern Sahara and continued undrained by Lebanon across Mesopotamia and Arabia to Persia and India. The parched Sahara enjoyed a regular rainfall and farther last, the showers were not only more bountiful than to-day but was distributed over the whole year." The pleasant grasslands of North Africa and Southern Asia were thickly populated". But. after the close of the Ice Age, the Afrasian area began to experience a profound physical change in the direction of dessication or drought. Simultaneously two or more civilisations arose in an area which had previously been occupied by primitive Societies of the Paleolithic period. Faced with the gradual dessication, on the reshift northward of the Atlantic cyclone belt, three alternatives were open to the Afrasian steppe peoples:

(1) They might move northward or southward with their prey.

(2) They might remain at home eking out a miserable existence

Or

(3) They might free themselves from dependence on the whims of their environment by domesticating animals and taking to Agriculture.

As a result of the dessication, those that changed neither their habitat nor the way of life paid the penalty of extinction for their failure to respond to the challenge of dessication. Those that avoided changing their habitat by changing their way of life by transforming themselves from hunters into shepherds became the nomads of the Afrasian Steppe. The tribes which avoided the drought by retreating southward into the monsoon belt came under the influence of the monotonous tropics. Lastly there were communities that responded to the challenge of dessication by changing their habitat and their way of life alike. This double reaction was the dynamic act which created the Egyptiac and Sumeric civilisations. This change in the creative communities way of life was the transformation of food-gatherers and hunters into cultivators.

They found the delta of the Nile as a vast expanse of swampy land flooded by the river Nile. Now there arose a second challenge of the swamps of the Nile Delta. They responded to this challenge also and the wantonness of Nature was subdued by the works of man; the formless jungle swamps made way for a pattern of ditches and embankments and fields; the lands of Egypt and Shinar were reclaimed from the wilderness and the Egyptiac and Sumeric civilisations started on their great adventures.

Genesis of the Sumeric Civilisation:

The dessication of Afrasia likewise impelled the creators of the Sumeric civilisation to come to grips with the jungles swamp of the lower valley of the Tigris and Euphrates and to transform it into the land of Shinar. The ordeal through which the fathers of the Sumeric civilisation passed is mentioned in Sumeric legend. The killing of the dragon Tiamat by the God Marduk and the creation of the world out of her mortal remains, signifies the subjugation of the primeval wilderness and the creation of the land of Shinar by the canalisation of the waters and the draining of the soil. The story of the flood records nature's revolt against the shackles which man's audacity had placed on her.

Genesis of the Sinic civilisation:

The Shang culture was the primary civilisation out of which the Chinese and the far eastern Societies arose. The Shang culture seems to have originated in the Lower Valley of the river Houango-ho, which offered a challenge to the originators of the Shang culture. The river was not navigable at any season. In the winter it was frozen or choked with floating ice; and the melting of the ice every spring produced devastating floods which repeatedly changed the river's course by carving out new channels while the old ones turned into jungle-covered swamps. Even to-day, when some three or four thousand years of human effort have drained the swamps and confined the river within embankments, the destructive actions of the floods has not been eliminated. The Yangtse had always been

navigable and its floods, though occasionally very destructive, are less frequent. In the Yangtse valley the winters are less severe. Nevertheless, it was on the yellow river and not on the Yangtse that the Shang culture and the affiliated Chinese civilisation came to birth.

The Genesis of the Mayan and Andean civilisations :

The challenge to which the Mayan civilisation was a response was the luxuriance of the tropical forest. In the low lands of Mexico, great trees have to be felled and fast growing birches kept under control by unceasing efforts. It was the challenge of the forest that was responded to by the founders of the Yucatec and Mayan civilisations. The Andean civilisation in South America arose as a result of the response to the challenge of the desert, a bleak pleateau and a grudging soil. On the coast they were challenged by the heat and drought of an almost rainless equatorial desert. The pioneers of the Andean civilisation in the plateau and the desert by controlling the scanty waters that descended from the Western edge of the Andean mountains gave life to the plains by irrigation.

Genesis of the Minoan civilisation :

The earliest known inhabitants of Anatolia and Greece were broad-heads; the earliest known inhabitants of the Afrasian grass lands were long heads. An analysis of the oldest relics of human physique in the island of Crete were found to be mainly long-heads. This ethnological evidence points to the conclusion that the first human beings who settled in the islands surrounding Crete were immigrants from the dessication of the Afrasian grass lands. A section of the people of the dessicated Sahara region seem to have accepted the challenge of the Mediterranean Sea crossed the sea, settled in the Cretan islands and became the founders of the Thalassocracy of Minos.

Genesis of the Affiliated civilisations :

Primary civilisations or the civilisations of the first generation responded to physical or geographical challenges and thus the origin of those civilisations began. From the primary

civilisations arose the secondary ones. These secondary civilisations such as the Hellenic, Indic, Iranic and Arabic gave birth to Higher religions. When a civilisation breaks down there happens a horizontal schism in the body politic. In the growth stage of a civilisation the society consisted of only two groups, (1) the creative Minority or Individuals and (2) the uncreative Majority. But when a civilisation *breaks down* the creative Minority becomes a Dominant Minority and uncreative Majority are divided into an Internal proletariat and external prolet·riat. The Internal proletariats became the founders of a higher religion and out of this higher religion another civilisation is born which may be called the Tertiary civilisation. The Western and Orthodox Christian Societies, the Hindu Society and the Islamic Society are examples of the affiliated Civilisations. Here we find a human challenge. The creative Minority becomes a Dominant Minority which founds a Universal State in which the once uncreative Majority became the internal proletariats and the external proletariats. The internal proletariats become the founders of either a higher religion or philosophy. From the higher religion another civilisation is born.

But, some affiliated civiliations also had experienced physical challenges. Thus the Western civilisation was exposed at its genesis to a challenge from the forests, rains and frost of the Transalpine Europe. The Indic civilisation was exposed to the challenge of the moist tropical forests of the Gangetic valley. The Hittite civilisation was exposed to a challenge from Anatolian plateau. In America the Yucatec civilisation was exposed to the challenge of the waterless, treeless and soilless limestone shelf of the Yucaten Peninsula. The Mexico civilisation was exposed to the challenge of the Mexican plateau. The offshoot of the orthodox Christian civilisation in Russia was exposed to a challenge from the forest, rains and frost of the Siberian desert. The offshoot of the Far Eastern civilisation in Korea and Japan was exposed to a challenge from the sea.

The Chairman thanked the leader and the speakers for their illuminating and interesting speeches.

III

REPORT OF SEMINARS

A Lecture - Demonstration on 'BHARATA NĀTYA AS A SYMBOLIC EXPRESSION OF ŚAIVA SIDDHANTA' was delivered by Mr. Ari Darom at 4-15 P.M. on Friday, the 26th February 1982 in Room No. 48, University Departmental Building, Madras-5. Professor P. Thirugnanasambandhan, M.A., L.T., Director of the Institute presided. The following is the report of the Lecture.

The Chairman introduced the Lecturer and called on him to speak:

Mr. Ari Darom " Contemporary Bharata Nāṭyam is a descendent of Dāsi Attam, also known as Chinna Mēḷam, the temple dance of South India. With the Devadasi Act of 1947, the institution of temple dance came to an end. The dance was translated from the holy precincts of the temple into the secular ambience of the public auditorium. Though much lip service is paid to the sacred origin of this dance, it must be admitted that its underlying structure of form and meaning has become obscured as a result of having become dissociated from temple rituel and the immediacy of religiophilosophical concerns. The modern trend, rightfully so, has been to look at the dance from the perspective of the Nāṭyaśāstra, Abhinayadarpaṇa, Sangītaratnākara and other works which are essentially manuals of theory and technique. These works universally attest to the mythological divine origin of dance but do not discuss the possible esoteric meanings of the specific dance conventions themselves, their

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Mr. Ari Darom is an American Dancer who has received the Master of Fine Arts Degree in Dance and Choreography from New York University School of the Arts. He is a Fellow of American Institute of Indian Studies, working on a Research Project "*Interpreting Bharata Nāṭyam as an Expression of Śaiva Siddhāntam*".

relationship to the total body of Indian mystical, religious thought. The Sangītaratnākara stresses 'Nadopāsanā', the yogic "quest of the Divine through contemplation of sound";[1] but the dance, being included in the concept of Sangītam, does not receive esoteric elaboration as such. In none of these classic manuals will one find a discussion of the inner meaning of the movement conventions that ultimately led to the development of South Indian Temple dance. The search must be carried on in other spheres. The point to be put forth is that Bharata Nāṭyam is a regional inflection of the Nāṭyaśāstra tradition which developed a definite formal structure in consonance with the prevailing religious and philosophical symbolism of the Śaivāgamas as it was understood and evolved in Tamil Nadu from, at least, the fifth century A.D. through the eighteenth century A.D. when Bharata Naṭyam was resystematised by the Tanjore Quartette. The noted scholar, Thiru M. Arunachalam, supports this thesis.

> "In the present day when there is a large awakening in matters of dance (Bharata Nātya) and art, there is no other scriptural authority than the āgamas to lay down the rules for temple dances...all classial dances have their origin in temple dances and the sanction for all the dances is contained only in the āgamas. Dance was dedicated in ancient *Tamilnad* to Śiva, the Lord of the Cosmic Dance......"[2]

This paper is an attempt to affirm this āgamic basis by interpreting Bharata Naṭyam as the plastic expression in movement of Śaiva Siddhānta, the Tamil inflection of Śaivism, with particular reference to Naṭarāja Mūrti, its form, structure and meaning.

The Study of Bharata Nāṭyam involves the mastery of an intricate canon of body movement based on the position known

1. Ayyangar, Rangaramanuja, R., Sangīta Ratnākara, Wilco. Publ. House, 1978, p. 2
2. Arunachalam, M., Worship in the Āgamas, Śaiva Siddhānta, Vol. 5, No. 3 & 4, March 1971.

as *ardha maṇḍi*, which because of superficial similarities, is sometimes mistakenly equated with the demi plie of western classical ballet.[3] The position is a "Squat" or a "sit" with the legs bent at the knees, the hips level, the thighs turned out, the feet pointing in opposite directions approximating a nearly one hundred eighty degree angle and the heals touching, or nearly so. The arms are held out to the sides at shoulder level, slightly rounded, the elbows held high, the hands in pataka-hastam. The innumerable movement patterns of the dance are permutations of this basic position. By the eighth century[4] this "Kṣipta" position characterized by the "sit" with turned out thighs had become the conventional posture throughout India for sculptures depicting dance but it is only in South India that it has survived as the foundation of a full blown sophisticated style of temple dance. The ascendency of the "Kṣipta" position seems to have occured simultaenously and subsequently to the Śaiva revival spurred on by the four Tamil saints, Thirugñāna Sambandar, Appar, Sundaramūrti and Māṇikkavācakar from the sixth through the ninth centuries. Certainly by the time of the building of the great temples in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries it was firmly entrenched. The prevalence of this dance shape at this time is no accidental coincidence. It suggests strongly that the temple dance developed as a concretization, in terms of stylized movement, of the symbolic concepts embodied in the psalms of the Nālvars praising Śiva Naṭarāja, not in the mimetic sense of mythological story telling but in the formal structure of the dance itself.

That Naṭarājamūrti is the symbol par excellence of the dance has become a common place that deserves fresh consid-

3. The Western Demi Plie and the Ardha Maṇḍi are designed to serve different purposes and are based on different Pelvic alignments. The former is designed to aid the body in its attempt to defy gracity and is pre-eminently not a "Sit". The latter reflects an acquiescence to the force of gravity and is related to the Āsana of Yogic meditation.

4. Vatsyayan, Kapila, Classical Indian Dance in Literature and the Arts, p. 71.

eration. The concept of Naṭarāja is of great antiquity. It is found fully developed in the Sangam work, Kalittokai, the songs of Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār and Thirumūlar's Thirumantiram.[5] Rules for making the image are discussed in Kāraṇāgamam and Kāmikāgamam, two of the eight āgamas mentioned in Thirumantiram.[6] The underlying geometry of the image is a perfect convergence of technical demands of craft with symbolic import and bears direct relationship to the form, the "anga lakshaṇam" of Bharata Nāṭyam.

> "For making Naṭarāja images... The moulds have to conform to certain specifications. Bronze images are to stand by themselves without any support...The tip of the head dress or plaited hair, the hands holding the drum and the fire, the wreathing cobra, the flying scarf from the waist and the planted foot invariably touch the Tiruvāsi...If from the navel a circle is drawn, the circumference of such a circle touches all the points referred to already. The middle point in the planted foot when joined with the navel by a straight line, if produced, passes through the mid point in the forehead between the eyebrows...Lest the equilibrium should be lost, if the three points touching the Tiruvāsi, i.e. the center of the planted foot and the two hands of drum and fire are joined, we get an equilateral triangle, an inverted one".[7]

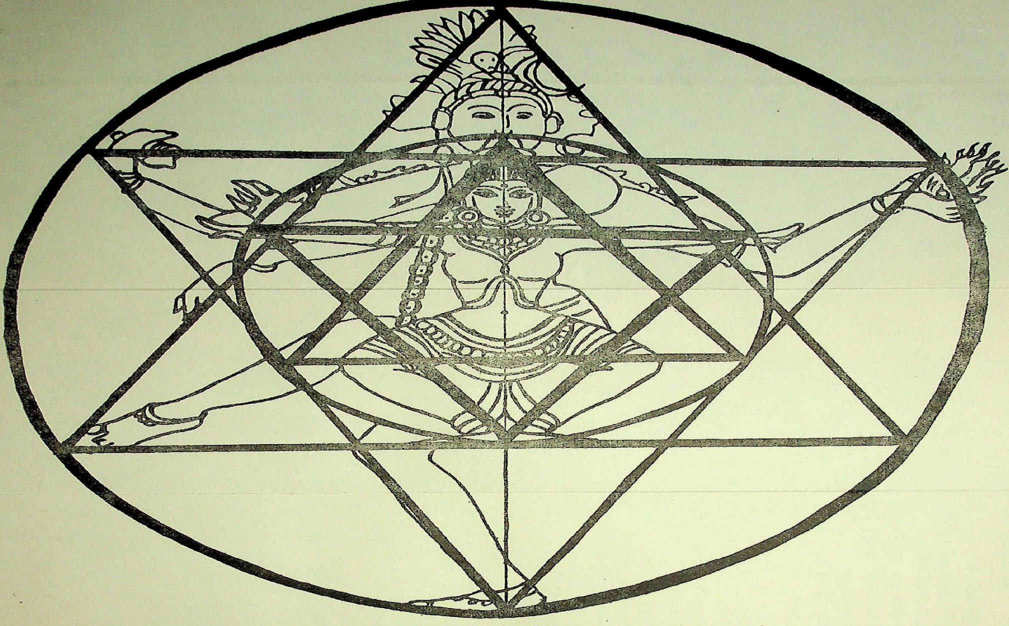
The specifications quoted above, though structural, are all plastic representations of fundamental Śaiva Siddhānta tenets which can bear extensive explication, some of which will be dealt with below. What is central to our exposition at the moment is the presence of the inverted equilateral triangle whose use in maintaining equilibrium has a profound spiritual

5. 3rd. to 5th century A.D.

6. Kamaliah, K.C., Ananda Coomaraswamy and the Naṭarāja Theme. Śaiva Siddhānta, Vol. 7, No. 3, Dec. 1972.

7. Ibid,

Diagram : Illustration of Bharata Nāṭyam dancer as iconographic analogue of Naṭarāja Mūrti. It can also be viewed as the Śuddhādvaita union of Paśu (dancer) and Pati (Lord).



The Dancer (inner circle) and the Lord of Dance (outer circle) in Śuddhādvaitic union as Paśu-Pati

philosphic function in addition to insuring that the image be engineeringly sound. This inverted triangle is, actually, one of two triangles found in the substructure of the Naṭarāja Bronze. There are three more points that if joined together will form another triangle. These are the top of the head dress, the whirling scarf, both touching the Tiruvāsi, and the tip of the raised foot that barely touches it. This triangle has its apex pointed upward and serves no engineering purpose. As will be shown below, it is purely a spiritual structural device. It is now apparent that the substructure of the Naṭarāja Bronze is a set of interlocking triangles which form a six pointed star, a ṣaṭkoṇa cakra, and that the Tiruvāsi forms a circle enclosing this Cakra.[8]

If we take into account the "Kṣipta" based Ardha maṇḍi position, the same shaṭkoṇa chakra will be perceived; the inverted triangle is formed by connecting the points of the two arms along their line of extension with the point between the heels and the upright triangle, by joining the crown of the head with the line of extension of the two knees. The various movement patterns of the arms inscribe arcs as well as angular slices of the circular periphery of the dancer, whose navel is its center, so that the Tiruvāsi is implied within the movement convention of the dance itself. We begin to see the technique of Bharata Nāṭyam transforming the dancer into a physical analogue of Naṭarāja Mūrti by utilizing the identical geometric substructure of the icon to produce the shape which is the sine qua non of its formal aesthetic; the myriad movements of the dance forever resolving themselves into the configuration of the six pointed star. This correspondence becomes even more cogent when one realises that the appearance of the Naṭarāja Bronzes and the widespread use of the "Kṣipta" position in dance sculpture also corresponded in time, the time of the Imperial Cholas.

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8. This was pointed out to me by Vidya Shankar who teaches sculpture at the Government Arts College in Kumbakonam and is the son of Madras Sthapati, Gauri Shankar. It was also the subject of a lecture delivered by Thiru A.S. Gnanasambandan at the Natya Kala Conference held at Krishna Gana Sabha, Madras in December 1981.

> "The period when the Imperial Cholas ruled the Tamil country was one of deep religious fervour and erection of temples, big and small continued uninterrupted. It was the time when Śiva worship was dominant and the State patronage gave a fillip to fine arts, music, sculpture and painting. Even before Śaiva Siddhānta was presented as a logical system as found in the fourteen works known as the Meykaṇḍa Śāstram between 1070 and 1238 A.D., the Naṭarāja images made their appearances in temples and were worshipped".[9]

The idea that the dancer's "natural" body is transmuted into an "iconographic" one is of primary importance to a clear understanding of the anga lakṣaṇam of South Indian temple dance. The aesthetic is not an arbitrary one. It did not evolve out of thin air. Here is one more instance of the inner consistency of Hindu culture; an instance of the doctrine of "Sat Kārya Vada"; that an existent cannot evolve from a non existent. The idea of bodily transformation is found in the Āgamic Ātmārtha or personal Śiva Pūja in the Ritual of Nyāsa. Nyāsa means placing or touching.

> "The physical Body which is gross matter, is not qualified to perform worship to Śiva. So, it has to be made fit for the pūjā; Śiva-hood has to be conferred on it. When...this Māyā produced form is removed, the Śiva form is sought to be effected by placing the Śiva mantras in the appropriate places...Thus all the Nyāsas together have the common goal of elevating the physical body of the worshipper to a higher plane and progressively making him one with the object (namely Śiva) worshipped. The Sādhaka's consciousness gradually opens up and Śiva occupies him more and more. Each invocation to the Devatā through the mantra to settle on a particular part of his own body is, accompanied by the Nyāsa, with the assured faith that Śiva's Limb is settled there with the mantra. When the whole

9. Kamaliah, K.C., Op. Cit.

> body is thus transmuted into an abode of the Lord through Bhāvanā (Thought), Mantra (word), Kriyā (Action), and above all Faith, the saying "Śiva is All" is fully consummated".[10]

This mode of thought is built into the dance technique. By rejecting all movement except that which fits into the iconographic mould the dancer makes the body fit for worshipping Śiva through dance. Śiva-hood is literally conferred upon the body in plastic terms. The correspondence goes deeper than this. For the dancer also achieves an identification with the Pañcākṣara, the Mantra body of the Lord. Verses 32 and 33 of Uṇmai Viḷakkam, one of the Fourteen Meykaṇḍa Śāstras highlight this.

At the commencement of dance, before assuming Ardha maṇḍi, the dancer takes the position called Sauṣṭavam, a posture close to a natural one. The stance is erect, feet together and parallel to each other in Sama pāda. The eyes are level. Here the dancer's mind and body are separate from the Lord. In this state of consciousness the dancer perceives Śiva's mantra body in what Śaiva Siddhānta designates as its gross form, i.e. NA MA ŚI VA YA. Śiva is the external object adored. Uṇmai Viḷakkam says:

> "Hear now the nature of the dance performed by Ambalavāṇan. His Feet sought after by (His devotees) are the letter 'NA', His navel is 'MA', His shoulders are 'ŚI', His face is 'VA', and His head is 'YA'."[11]

The humble devotee, a separate entity, shyly glances at the Lord from His feet to His head. Upon taking Ardha Maṇḍi, the dancer accomplishes the act corresponding to Nyāsa by fitting her limbs on to the Template of Naṭarāja's. The assumption of this shape has conferred Śiva-hood on them. Her body is now His body. Her ego has been effaced and

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10. Arunachalam, M., Op. Cit.
11. Manavāsagam Kaḍanthār, Uṇmai Viḷakkam, Publ. and translated by Singaravelu, C.N., Madras, 1982.

Śiva has become internalized. Her consciousness apprehends and unites with the Lord's subtle mantra body, i.e. ŚI VA YA NA MA.

> "For Him the hand which holds the drum is 'ŚI', the hand which swings is 'VA' the embodiment of Jnanam; the hand which indicates 'Fear not' is 'YA'; the hand which holds the fire is 'NA'; the Foot which presses down the Demon Muyalakan is 'MA'.[12]

By virtue of a formal dance convention the body thought of as "Pāśam" a bond acting as a veil between Paśu, the individual soul and Pati, the Lord, has become a vehicle through which Divine Truth can be lived and illustrated. One of the Tamil words for body is "Mey" (மெய்). "Mey" also means Truth. The ultimate truth is Śivam. Through the discipline of dance, the personal body of the dancer becomes an impersonal body of Truth.

Through the formal demands of technique the dancer becomes an animated mantra, yantra[13] and Mūrti; a living analogue of the totality of Śaiva Siddhānta concepts represented by Naṭarāja. The ancient convention of the temple dance ceases to appear antiquated, lifeless or over stylized. Its importance becomes self evident. Each angle of the elbow and knee, each stamp of the foot, each hasta mudrā and glance of the eye are replete with meaning and this is Nṛtta, Abstract dance, let alone the interpretive Nṛtya. The movements literally are "Angahāras" as alive and contemporary as the Great Lord Himself.

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The idea that Nṛtta has meaning is not often met with in writings on South Indian dance. However, Nṛtta is the armature upon which the entire art of Nṛtta and Abhinaya is supported.

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12. Ibid.

13. Thiru M. Arunachalam denies the relevancy of yantras to Śaiva Siddhānta as they are used in Śaktaism. They are ubiquitous, however, in Tamil Nadu in the form of Kolams and as such are part of the Śaiva Environment.

At no time during the exposition of Abhinaya do the rules of Nṛtta cease to govern the disposition of the limbs. The shape of Nṛtta is what imparts the special sense of ritual sacredness to the literary works interpreted in Bharata Nāṭyam. The symbolic meaning of Nṛtta supplies the underlying doctrine of which the poetry interpreted is the expression. It is the supreme Rasa which informs the Rasa of Abhinaya just as Śiva is the Supreme Soul who informs all other souls. It is the all pervading yet transcendent content of the art. To explain this, it is necessary to explore the meanings inherent in the interlocking triangles which we have already mentioned. This Ṣaṭ Koṇa cakra is the convergence point of the form and its symbolic content; the point of union which is the genesis of the "True Form" of which the "Aesthetic surfaces" are but reflections.

The form is in the work of art as its "Content" but we shall miss it if we consider only the aesthetic surfaces and our own sensitive reactions to them, just as we may miss the sonl when we dissect the body and cannot lay our hands upon it."[14]

The Śaiva Siddhāntic concept of the transcendental God's immanence in the universe is central to our theme. As He is the immanent invisible content of creation so is He the immanent invisible content of dance. In His transcendence,

> "He exceeds the Universe, while being its ground. As thus exceeding, He cannot be perceived and cannot be comprehended by thought. He has no name and no form. There are no identifying marks setting His limits."[15]

He is Bodiless, Actionless, Pure Luminous Being. In His Immanence, as He enters into relationship with the phenomenal world, He is Śakti, consciousness force.

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14. A. K. Coomaraswamy as quoted by Kamaliah, K.C., Op. Cit.

15. Mahadevan, T.;M. P., M.A., Ph.D., in Collected Lectures on Śaiva Siddhānta, 1946-1954, Annamalai University, 1965.

> "Even as we perform all our actions with our hands, so does Lord create and protect all the world with His Consort, His Consciousness Force."[16]

This consciousness Force, Cit Śakti, is also thought of as Śiva's bodily form.

> "It is to Him His body, the instrumental cause in respect of the Cosmic functions."[17]

and again:

> "His body which is Brahma Vidyā in Essence is called Umā."[18]

Technically, any form of the Lord is śakti.

With the foregoing in mind we return to our enquiry into sacred geometry. In Śākta terminology the inverted triangle represents śakti and the upright one, Śiva, the Ṣaṭ Koṇa their union.

> "The well known ṣaṭkoṇa ... signifies ... the dynamic śakti superimposed on the heart of the static supine Śiva."[19]

The Śaiva Siddhantin would qualify this by saying that the inverted triangle represents Śakti Tattva while the upright one represents Śiva Tattva. The Shaṭ Koṇa represents Sadāśiva Tattva. The word Tattva signifies an evolute of matter from the subtlest to the grossest of manifestations. Para Śiva and His Consciousness-Force are above the Tattvas composed of Māyā,[20] the undifferentiated material from which the manifold world is made and to which it returns upon dissolution. The most subtle form of this primal matter is called Śuddha Māyā

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16. Mudaliar, Vajravelu, K., B.A., L.T., in Collected Lectures, Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Sankaranarayanan, S., Sri Chakra, Dipti, publ. Pondicherry, 1970, p. 11.
20. Māyā in Śaiva Siddhānta does not mean illusion as it does in Sankara's Advaita Vedānta.

or Kundalinī. When at the beginning of a world cycle Śiva modifies Śuddha Māyā through the Jñāna or Wisdom aspect of His Cit Śakti, Nāda Tattva Is evolved. When Śuddha Māyā is modified by the Kriyā aspect of His Cit Śakti, the Will to action, Śakti or Bindu Tattva is evolved. When Jñāna and Kriyā śaktis modify Śuddha Māyā equally, Sadāśiva Tattva is evolved. This coincidence of Jñāna and Kṛiyā Śaktis in the modification of Śuddha Māyā corresponds to the marriage of the God and Goddess of mythology. Thiru K. Vajravelu Mudaliar's explanatlon of the Śivalingam is germane to the explication of this idea.

> "The form of the Śivalinga is a combination of Pītham or seat, a three dimentional circle below, and a Liṅgam, a three dimensional straight line above. When these are written two dimensionally they take the form (a) (a circle followed by a straight line) which, in South India, we call Piḷḷaiyār Suzhi, the symbol of Caneśa, the God personifying Praṇava. The circular form is called Bindu, and the form of the straight line or Daṇḍākāram is called Nāda.
>
> —Vātulāgama.
>
> 'Nāda is Linga; and Bindu is Pīṭha, so it is said. Nāda is the stress, pressure or push, which is administered by God's Jñāna śakti (Consciousness Force) to Kuṇḍalinī or Śuddha Māyā and Bindu, the circular wavy motion generated in Kuṇḍalinī. The combination of these two is at the root of Cosmic creation."[21]

The upright triangle corresponds to Linga which is Nāda; Energy in potentia, quiescent and by extension, of the nature of Śiva. The inverted triangle corresponds to Pīṭha which is Bindu, kinetic energy and, by extension, of the nature of Śakti. The aptness of the Ṣaṭ Koṇa Cakra in representing the Union of Siva and Śakti Tattvas to form that of Sadāśiva becomes logical when we note that, in South India, the hexagon is the

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21. Mudaliar, Vajravelu, K., Collected Lectures, Op. Cit.

yantra of Muruga, the six faced son of Śiva-Śakti whose mantra is six lettered. He is the personification of the fiery energy which both brings about the Union and is its result. In effect, He *is* this Union just as His Brother, Gaṇapati, the personification of OM, *is* the Union of Linga and Pīṭha. Thus we are brought to the next two evolutes, Īśvara and Śuddha Vidyā Tattvas. These are characterised respectively by a predominance of Kriyā tempered by Jñānam and a predominance of Jñānam tempered by Kriyā; the former to be associated with the energy and power of Muruga; the latter, with the quiescent wisdom of Gaṇeśa. This is reflected in the Purāṇic story wherein Muruga, the energy of Universal movement, circles the Universe while Gaṇeśa circles Mother-Father. Since Naṭarāja is an embodiment of Mother-Father encircled by the Tiruvāsi' the fiery Oṁkāra,[22] the Bronze may also be viewed as an adumbration of the purāṇic episode.

It is appropriate that the iconographic representation of Śiva's five Cosmic Acts has this pregnant geometry as its underpinning. The significance of the inverted triangle being the active support of the Bronze while the upright triangle serves no functionally structural purpose is apparent. The hands of creation and destruction and the Foot treading Muyalakan being encompassed by the Triangle of Śakti makes perfect symbolic sense as does the whirling scarf, the benign countenance and the raised Foot of deliverance appearing in the triangle of Jñānam.

The Bronze's navel is the center of the Tiruvāsi. Naṭarāja fills the entire phenomenal universe of space and time. His body and limbs extend to its unfathomable limits. Thus, the Tiruvāsi represents His sphere of action, i.e. the circular perimeter of all space and the cyclical movement of all time. The navel is the still, small unmanifest center,[23] the point from which manifestation springs, beyond which is transcendence

22. Uṇmai Viḷakkam, Verse 34, Op. Cit.

23. Avalon, Arthur, The Serpent Power, Dover publ. New York, 1974, p. 175,

"O Lord! Thou fillest the Heaven; Thou fillest the Earth and extendeth far beyond."[24]

We have here a pleasing parallel with the Śri Cakra where the center point, the Bindu is:

"The Nave of the Great Wheel, Sri Chakra, Paramasya Nābhih, the navel of the Supreme person from which the whole creation originates."[25]

Śrī Naṭarāja Mūrti, in fact, may be successfully superimposed on Śrī Cakra for they are not merely symbolic parallels. They are equivalents. Their relationship is one of Tādātmya, Sameness of Nature.[26] They are one body. Their center is one center; the navel of Ardhanārīśvara Mūrti. On this level Śiva and Śakti are not opposites. They are not in union. Rather, they are unity; one principle, the Paramātman and His consciousness - Force. This clarifies the cryptic Śaiva Siddhāntic tenet that the relationship of Śiva to His Śakti is.

"Absolutely impersonal and though worshipped as husband and wife, they may be compared to a perpetual bachelor and a maiden."[27]

It is only in the threefold Tāttvic worlds below transcendence, the worlds of embodied souls, where union in terms of Siddhāntic Advaita is relevant and is sought to be effected. This distinction is important to any discussion of the metaphysical basis of Rasa, the apotheosis of erotic imagery through Śṛṅgāra, the relationship of the audience to the dancer and the dancer's own relationship to the art. The navel of Naṭarāja is, thus, not on the Same symbolic plane as the Tiruvāsi. It is infinitely far in depth from that Samsāric perimeter; not merely a hub but an axle leading upward and inward towards

24. From Tiruvacakam, Śivapurāṇam as Translated by Prof. R. Ramanujachari in Collected Lectures, Op. Cit.

25. Sankaranarayanan, S., Op. Cit.

26. Mudaliar, Vajravelu, K., Collected Lectures Cp. Cit.

27. Mudaliar, Balasubramaniam, M., Ibid.

transcendence and downward and outward towards space-time manifestation.

Naṭarāja's filling of the Tiruvāsi's diameter is redolent with overtones of his appearance as Lingodbhava Mūrti, the Cosmic Lingam of Light which Brahmā and Viṣṇu could not fathom. The straight line reaching from the center of His planted foot through the middle of His brow to the Crown of His head is His Meru Daṇḍa, the Meru Daṇḍa of the Universe and by analogy, the Meru Daṇḍa of the Dancer.

This matrix of endlessly proliferating and interlocking symbology, Multi-meaninged and Multi-levelled, is the true eontent form of Bharata Nāṭyam; the non discursive meaning of Nṛtta. It is the philosophical and aesthetic womb from which the host of Gods and men is born and the symbolic-structural content beneath the Arts of Nṛtya and Abhinaya. Lastly, it provides the mystical, mythical space-time coordinates through which the performing theater of the dance can bə understood as well as the vantage point for our own further enquiries into the subject.

The Chairman in conclusion thanked the Lecturer and the audience present.

IV

REPORTS OF SEMINAR

A Lecture on 'the Development of the Art of Harikathā, was held by the Institute of Traditional Cultures on Wednesday, the 7th April 1982 in Room No. 48 of the University Departmental Buildings. The following is the report of the Lecture.

Present

Director: Prof. P. Thirugnanasambandhan, M.A.,L.T., presided.

Lecturer: Gāna Kathā Kāṇṭhirava, Harikathā Ratnākara, Bāla Vyāsa Satkathāmṛta Kalānidhi, Bhāratakesari, Kalaimāmaṇi, Tyāgagānalola, Kalāvisharada, Gāyakasiromaṇi Bramha Sri T. S. Balakrishna Sastrigal.

An audience of about 25 persons was present.

The President in his introductory remarks referred to the continuity of Hindu cultural tradition by freely absorbing the new features that were imparted by the neighbouring people. The fact that Indian culture has an unbroken record of more than twenty centuries lies in its spirit of tolerance and its readiness to imbibe the new elements of culture that came in the wake of foreign invasions and change of dynasties brought about by political conquests. The art and literature produced in different regions were thus shaped from time to time and have attained the present state. India has a glorious tradition of 64 kalas which are mentioned in as early a work as Lalita Vistara of the Buddhists and Kāma Sūtra of Vātsyāyana. There are arts of varied kinds such as, fine arts, like music and painting, plastic arts like sculpture and the verbal arts like literature. Coming to Harikathā, he pointed out how the new form of discourse with a preponderant element of music was introduced by the Bhāvas of Mahārāshṭra who came to Thanjāvūr during the period of the Mahratta rule. The themes

of Harikathā are generally taken from the epics and purāṇas. The purpose of Harikathā is not only to entertain but also to instruct and elevate the human personality. He touched upon the great contributions made by the pioneer Sri Krishna Bhāgavathar who lived in the second half of the 19th cent· He rendered Nandanār Charitram and other operas of Gopalakrishna Bharathi, and also other stories from Vaishṇava and Śaiva legends. He introduced the Lecturer, Harikathā Ratnākara, Gāyakaśiromani Sri T. S. Balakrishna Sastrigal, an outstanding exponent of Harikathā and requested him to deliver the lecture.

Brahmaśrī T. S. Balakrishna Sastrigal: Harikathā is the ancient art portraying the worship of the Lord as described in the "Nārada Bhakti Śāstra". Nārada is said to be the premier Harikathā exponenet, as depicted in the various Purāṇas.

Harikathā spreads the (Nava-Vidha) nine forms of worship: Śravaṇa, Kīrtana, Smaraṇa, Pādasevana, Archana, Vandana, Dāsyam, Sakhyam, Ātmanivedanam. Of all these, Śravaṇa and Kīrtana are the foremost and form part of the main basis of Harikathā.

By Kīrtana and Śravaṇa the rapport plays the vital role. One can sing or speak the glory of the Lord to Himself but when there is a person to hear him his ecstasy grows. Hearing is itself an important virtue of education. All over traditional culture came up only by hearing and imbibing the spirit (Śrotavyam, Mantavyam, Nididhyāsitavyam) in one and developing it into the absorption of the subject and its essence. Guru, Śishya and then the speaker and the listener and in between them (Saraswatī), the Goddess of learning and culture appears - (Vidya Sandhiḥ, Pravacanam Sandhānam).

In the Harikathā style practised in South India, especially in the Tanjore palaces, the (Sadas) audience assembly and the auditorium are worshipped and the Harikathā player invokes the Goddess of Learning before he goes on his elaboration of the

theme. The (Sadas) listeners and the royal families who patronised the art were absorbed, silent and reaping the full benefit of (Śravaṇa) hearing a celestial and spiritual rendering which easily transported them to the realms of divinity and joy.

Harikathā practised by the savants in this country during the last century intellectually introduced in the matter the main themes of narrations of Purāṇic stories, the morals, ethics and the general code of good conduct, manners and behaviour according to the ancient Dharma śāstras and smṛtis quoting the quotes from the eminent poets and sages, thereby authenticating their every allusion. Humour in a subtle way, with characterising and illustrating side stories showing the evils of malpractices and bad behaviours, formed a vital role, and made their display enjoyable throughout. Music formed the main string and the variety of rāgas, tālas and compositions both classical, light and folk tunes attracted a larger crowd comprising of masses and classes.

Harikathā brought to Tanjore by the Maharashtra Pandits called Bhāvas, later came to occupy a main following after the Maharashtra rule, when stalwarts like Tanjore Krishna Bhāgavathar, Thiruppayanam Panchāpakeśa Bhāgavathar brought them to the Tamil people retaining the Maharashtra ślokas and pieces of songs (like Saki, Dondi, Ori, Ghanākshari and Khodga) handled works from the sayings of great men in Telugu, Kannada, Hindi, as that of Ramadāsa, Annamāchārya, Purandaradāsa, Jagannāthadāsa, Thyāgarāja, Kabirdās, Thulsidās, Thukārām, Moro Pant etc. Their mode of presenting the theme and the story of the topic of the day mixed with music and rhythm kept the audience spellbound and with the humour and jokes on the day to day life relieved them of the monotony and the duration of their concert took even six to seven hours. It was therefore held during the late hours in the night concluding in the early hours of the next day. Thus it combined the three aspects (Iyal, Isai, Naṭakam) literature, music and drama. The player or the artist has to be a master in mono acting.

There were instances when the members of the huge audience cried with the artist when he gave pathetic descriptions like those of Rāma leaving the kingdom and entering the forest, Rama meeting Bharata, Bharata's renunciation and Draupatī tormented by the Kauravas. They forget themselves in the ecstasy when Lord appears as Narasimha from the Pillar, Krishna taking the Viśvarūpa in the Hastināpura Court. Many people were visibly possessed called āveśam. The heroic battle of Rāma and Rāvaṇa, Āñjaneya leaping into the Cosmos to bring (Sañjīvi) the hill containing medicinal herbs to protect Lakshmaṇa, the fight between Karṇa and Arjuna, Bhīma and Bakāsura and Kīchaka, made the hearers leap with the zeal of bravery. Śrī Krishna's playtime with Gopas and Gopis made them rejoice and put them in happy moods. The audience were easily transported to the realm of the good old days of Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata.

When Harikathā is spelt as 'the story of Vishṇu (Hari)' it is more a general name to this art which includes several stories on Śiva, Devī and Muruga and their devotees. Not stopping at the interpretation of stories from the Epics, the artists take up life stories of great devotees viz. Nāyaṉmārs, Āḻvārs and other saint Bhaktas like Thukārām, Rāmadās and Kabīrdās. Harikeśanallūr Muthiah Bhāgavathar was giving a musical discourse on the life of Thyāgarāja for six to seven hours for two days. The versotility of these artists and their repertoire enabled them to render the same subject to different tastes at the same time preserving the devotional essence.

Harikathā was intended always to spread the basic quality of devotion towards the Almighty in whatever form and in any faith or following. Despite difference between faiths like Śaivam, (Śiva worship), Vaishṇavam (worship of Vishṇu), Śāktham (Devi worship) and other Gods like Muruga, Gaṇapati, Ayyappa etc, the Artists preserved the unity of all religions and stressed on 'samadarśanam', the feeling and observance of oneness in all religions. There were instances when Christian leaders did in the same manner the stories and anecdotes from

the Holy Bible in the Harikathā style, and inspired the Christian faith to spread the truths in the Christian religion to all who listened.

Besides the spreading of religious fervour in persons the Harikathā serves to educate the masses comprising of young and old men and women both literate and illiterate into the fundamental truths of existence and co-living and peaceful following of the many common moral codes, easily and effectively. In my experience, I have found many young people changing their walks of life to clean living from bad and spoiled habits and turned to become perfect citizens in later life. This art has a telling effect on people who could not otherwise find solace, as this has an appeal in it indirectly and provides every listener to think for himself twice, thrice and many times and slowly and permanently correct himself.

The Purāṇas and Epics contain everything in them to be learnt in this world for material and spiritual welfare and all the moral codes necessary for a peaceful co-existence within the family and communities and rural and urban living. The illustrations are provided in the gripping stories, each of them dealing with vital defects in the daily routines and showing the way how to get relieved and turn to a righteous living. We thus see how the Harikathā plays a very important role taken up by the Government even in these days for educating the adults and trying to preserve peaceful co-existence, among the people of all sects and faiths and various walks of life. This Harikathā art should therefore be necessarily patronised and developed with the full help of the Government.

While talking about the value and greatness of this ancient art, I will now deal with the necessary qualities that a Harikathā exponent should possess. There was no restriction placed even at the end of the last century on the ladies delivering discourses to the people, when ladies were prohibited from entering the stage and preach or speak. Gāyanapaṭu Kīrtanapaṭu Sarasvati Bai was the first blessed lady who took up to the Harikathā in her teens and kept the audience spellbound, by

her golden voice, repertoire of quotations in Marathi, Hindi, Telugu, Sanskrit and Tamil, combining both Karnatic and Hindustani music in her elaborations. The artiste should possess a commanding and musical voice. In those days there were no facilities of technical amplifications as available in these days, still they were audible to the last man in the audience; of course, there was perfect silence and rapt attention, and the artistes were singing in a higher pitch.

Harikathā exponent should be basically a first rate musician, with absolute svara and tāla knowledge and should be capable of rendering the songs and ślokas and poems in various rāgas at a sparkling short notice, changing them in a split second singing with emotion and pathos and other Navarasa bhāvas according to the context. Handling of the particular rāgas in contexts, like Mukhāri and Bhairavi representing grief, Thodi and Kalyāṇi for grace, Kambodi for elegance and Ānanda Bhairavi, Nīlāmbari for love, Aṭāna, Śaṅkarābharaṇam for powerful expressions is important to gain effeet. Some rāgas which share certain common traits with a few Hindustani rāgas like, Sindhu Bhairavi, Yamuna Kalyāṇi, Behag, Senchurutti, Navroz, Ameer Kalyāṇi, Jonpuri etc. were profusely sung and they had an imbibing appeal.

Harikathā exponents who were fondly termed as Bhāgavatars followed the Maharashtra style in the opening and conducting themes of their concerts. They had their inspiration for the style of rendering from the Bhāvas or Kīrtanakārs coming from Northern India to display the Harikathās or Kīrtans (as they called it) in Tanjore and other Royal palaces in South India, Mysore, Cochin, Trivandrum and Ramanathapuram ruled by the Royal families in those days. The Bhāvas' Sankirtan (Harikathā) was fully soaked with devotion and with their mode of emotional renderings they drew large crowds and the rulers patronised them by regularly inviting them and honouring them profusely. King Serfoji of Tanjore, Krishnaraja Wodayar of Mysore, Maharajah of Cochin, the descendents of the great Svathi Tirunāl, Maharaja of Travancore and Raja of Bobbili

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and Vizianagaram, Raja Sethupati of Ramnad were some of those rulers who patronised the Maharashtrian culture without any difference and made many of them as Asthana Vidwans.

Pandits of the local population followed them by introducing the well known Maharashtrian ways with expressions of speech in the local languages in Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam. In Kerala especially this form of Harikathā already existed in the form of Chakkiar Kūttu, Kūḍiyāṭṭam and Oṭṭan Thuḷḷal, which are unique by themselves in their depiction, aiming at the same results as of these Sankīrtans. Stalwarts in these States (which were one in those days as the Madras Presidency) had no feeling of linguistic bitterness or fanaticism in them and the various cultures in the country flourished together to the extent that it is remembered to this day of varied factions and tastes.

Besides possessing a rich voice and musical talent the Harikathā Bhāgavathar should necessarily be a true Bhakta (devotee of the Lord) and should practice to a great extent what he preaches. They were held therefore in great esteem and people sometimes approached them for their counsel seeking relief from their day to day problems.

Harikathā Bhāgavatar should be a scholar necessarily well educated in the tenets of Hindu philosophy, Vedas and Śāstras. He should be well versed in Sanskrit or Tamil or any of the regional languages, besides knowledge in other allied languages. He should have faith and respect in the sayings of the great men of this country and only that will make him render his exposition in the true spirit. He should be a devotee of the Lord (a Bhakta) and in describing the glories of the Lord and the Līlā, he should speak from the heart of devotion (bhakti). Speaking for speaking sake, learning for learning sake will make him only a cheat however well he may put up a show. The main purpose of the Harikathā is to offer worship and draw others into the fold of the Divine service. He should possess a good, healthy body, be clean in his habits and strict in his diet. He should be a soft hearted person, avoid prejudicial feelings with his cohorts, avoid gossips and lead a simple life.

Harikathā, as said earlier is a form of worship (Pūjā) and all the qualities of the exponent should be directed more to virtuous living than for earning money and fame. Sri Thyagarāja in his immortal kriti 'Nidhi Chala Sukhama' in Kalyāṇi and 'Bhakthuni Charitramu Vinave' in Behgada has specified these essential qualifications to become a true devotee of the Lord with a spiritual outlook on life. He is a perfect (sādhaka) practitioner and in his ripe experience he becomes a Jīvanmukta.

While I am trying to trace the greatness of this ancient art and those who introduced it to the people I cannot conceal my impressions for its downfall and poor patronage. I will enumerate the reasons briefly.

1. Several of those who did Harikathās have become corrupt in the sense that their private lives were not respected and their pursuit in life was for money, fame and name.

2. They, in spite of their skill and mastery in the art were devoid of devotion or faith in the Lord and many practised against what they preached on the stage. People developed, in general, scant respect tor these men.

3. Many were without fundamental education in the basic purāṇas, vedas and śāstras. They mugged up pieces of particular topics called 'Nirūpaṇam' from older artists practised, rehearsed and became Harikathā Bhāgavatars. Their merit was for some people, their musical talents, for some people, voice, for some acting capacity, for some cutting jokes and splashing many irrelevant side stories to pull on time. They were no doubt entertaining and people who listened to such performances attended them merely for the fun and entertainment. They enjoyed with lesser enlightening aspect in them.

4. The modern taste among the people and their outlook need more penetrating details of the essence and morals in every mythological story handled by the

artists and there is greater need nowdays in young and old trying to understand and learn the ethical and moral effects of the sayings of our great sages like Vālmīki, Vyāsa, Kambar and Thyāgarāja and Thulsidās more than a mere hearing of it. Harikathā artiste of the present day should armour himself with all that weapon to be able to resist and attack any maiming attacks on the old practices and preachings.

5. Unless the Harikathā ariste of the present days is aware of the world's and his own country's day to day happenings in both political and social spheres and possesses the power to co-relate and distinguish it from the earlier or ancient observances, he will find it difficult to attract the attention of his listeners. But he should never indulge in political or social attacks on any party, avoid names and keep a neutral path. His criticisms if at all necessary should be very soft, true and wholly constructive (Satyam Brūyāt, Priyam Brūyāt).

6. Music counts as an important aspect. The tunes set for a Harikathā concert are varied and cater to the tastes of all, both classical and light. Though music forms a vital part it is given a secondary status and the music interludes should be short and sweet. One of my knowledgeable listeners used to remark "Sir, when we hear your expositions, we are waiting eagerly for the music and when the music is on, we await the interpretation keenly." Whether it is a compliment or otherwise I felt that the music and the expositions are so nicely timed that the listeners keep vigilant listening for hours.

   The downfall is mostly due to the lack of good music or originality in the display of rāgas in each artiste. The standard of music is nowadays much widespread and the tastes in general have drifted towards lighter than the classical renderings. Either too much of a

monotony in the music or mere discoursing without depth in it have developed a carelessness in listening to Harikathās.

7. Harikathā artistes, with all the remarks said above, have not drawn the attention of the wider circle and they are held in a lower grade than ordinary musicians. The quality of the Harikathās deteriorated after the time of the stalwarts of the twenties and thirties of this century. The essential attributes were also not there in many of those who have taken to this art as a profession, when at the same time people were expecting a better and deeper standard. Ladies who took to this art were almost novices and they possessed nothing more than what they have learnt and rehearsed on certain special topics. The Radio authorities who were giving more prominence to recitals of classical music, did not judge this art at the same level, as there were a few in the line who can be compared to the standards of efficiency on a level with the musically talented artistes.

Many professionals shifted their career to become full time musicians. The qualified older people of this art allowed their children to take up other professions for their livelihood. Just as Vedas and Vedic studies and other classical learning met with a decline, Harikathā now practised only by a very few is slowly moving to its grave, because of lack of patronage and financial support. A Harikathā artist is paid in these days normally less than what is paid to an ordinary accompanist in a musical concert. The Harikathā performer has to meet the fees for his accompanists and their travel expenses. The interest to learn and practise the art by any individual possessing the basic education and all round talents is less because of the support to speakers (without music) called upanyāsakas or coṛpoḷivāḷars where one individual can do it in any manner he liked with the mere talent of speaking wittily and flourishingly.

The revival can only be by Amateurs taking up this art. Amateurs who do not depend upon the earning for their livelihood, should be mature persons, possessing some of the basic qualities specified earlier besides being a perfect musician and a devotee of the Lord. The beginning may be dull but as days go on and as they gain popularity their services will surely be accepted and rewarded. I was myself an amateur when I took up this career forty years ago and until now I am called upon to deliver my Harikathās all around this country almost every day in the year without a break.

I suggest the study and training for Harikathā should be taken at the University level, 'as an anxiliary course to the post-graduate Music degree. People well experienced in the Harikathā field should be asked to address the students for a month or two or as an alternative the students are attached to the Bhāgavatars for a period of two or three months to be with them on the 'Gurukula' pattern under the University regulations and have practical training to sing with them in the concerts and devote more time in understanding the methods of presentation of the various themes according to the taste of the listening public at various centres. As already indicated by me, the students should possess a qualified degree in the arts specially in Sanskrit or Tamil or Telugu and be devoted to the philosophic truths of our religion and other religions too.

My emphasis on the necessity of steps to be taken by the University is because Harikathā is such a vital art that serves to promote the culture of the country, a means of real adult education and toning up the moral values in the individuals and the society.

My appeal is more to the Sabhās, institutes and other associations who are conducting monthly and annual music and dance concerts to allot an equal share to Harikathā artistes. They should conduct such programmes without entrance fees inviting the public and give due publicity. The music academy is no doubt allotting a seasonal series, on Sunday mornings,

inviting all known artistes junior or senior to take part. Other sabhas in Madras similarly conduct long series continuously on specific occasions which attract a large gathering.

Those who are not musically qualified but possess literary background take up lectures called Corpoḷivu or upanyāsam and attract good crowd by their wits and mode of presentation. The expense is less to maintain them and they overtake the Harikathā performer easily. The first rival to the Harikathā artiste is this type of lecturer whose service is less costly but with more advantages. Except for certain music sabhas, other associations in Madras, Bombay, Calcutta, Coimbatore, Trichy and other cities patronise them. The Harikathā artiste is therefore again in difficulty in making himself more attractive and keeping himself cheaper than those Upanyāsakas to get on with his livelihood.

While there is no stipulated sampradāya or modus operandi for the Harikathā performer to follow, the intelligent modifications that an artist introduces in his presentation according to the tastes of the audiences before him and the time of duration made available to him, I am sure, will make him overcome all hardships and obstacles and with the music in it capture the heart of every one.

Speaking on my own experience, I have the privilege of attracting very large crowds even in these days, with the ethical and moral values of the stories and sāhityas of great vāggeyakāras and nāyanmārs and Aruṇagirināthar. I feel happy in noticing the particular interest shown by the younger generation of the modern days. They seem to be interested in knowing what every bit of our ancient practice present and the virtues embedded in them. Many have turned to lead a righteous and clean life and grew prosperous in wealth and health. The Bhakti cult, the surrender to the Divine Grace and the effects of hearing the glory of the Lord have a telling effect in curing people from their physical and mental turmoils.

Summing up Harikathā should essentially be taken care of and all facilities to make people learn and practise this art

for the welfare of the individual and the country at large should be provided by the Government, Universities and other institutions of culture and save this noble art from sinking.

Dr. D. Anjaneyulu (author and journalist) in the course of his remarks, referred with approval to the lecturer's observation that a Harikathā exponent should be a polyglot. The more languages he knew the better. In Tamil Nadu, the traditional performer would provide the narrative in Tamil, with illustrations drawn from other languages, musical renderings – sometimes in Telugu, Sanskrit and Hindi, with quotations in English and other languages, where necessary.

In this connection, Dr. Anjaneyulu recalled two wellknown examples – those of Aadibhatla Narayana Das, popularly known as 'Harikathā Pitāmaha' (grandfather of the Harikathā Art), and Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya, patriot, freedom-fighter and extempore versifier.

Adibhatla Narayana Das (1864–1945) knew a number of languages – classical and modern, including Sanskrit, Hindi, Persian, Urdu and English, besides his mother-tongue, Telugu. It is learnt from his biography that he once gave a Harikathā performance, in the presence of Poet Rabindranath Tagore in Calcutta, with the narrative in Hindi and English, with a judicious repertoire of songs and quotations from Sanskrit and Telugu. It was much appreciated by the poet.

Adibhatla was also a man of ready wit, whose presence of mind and intellectual resourcefulness were equal to any situation. The story is told of how, when he was about to begin his 'Harikathā' performance, a youthful member of the audience stood up, with a facetious suggestion: "Why not a 'Giri Kathā' today instead of a 'Harikathā', Bhagavatar Sir?"

"Indeed, why not?" responded the veteran artist, picking up the gauntlet with the practised ease of a gladiator. As Giri stands for the mountain, he took Giri Kathā to be the story of the King of mountains, 'Himavat' and turned the whole story into 'Girijā Kalyanam', celebrating the birth of

Girija or Parvati and her marriage with 'Śiva! It was the artist who had the last laugh, with the audience applauding more than ever before and the heckler not only humbled but turned into an ardent admirer.

As for Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya (1889-1928), the country knows him as leader of the 'Rama Dandu' (indigenous volunteer Corps) and a powerful public speaker, a quick-change artist, capable of slipping from prose into verse and back again. His musical renderings of *Gita Govinda* and *Krishṇa Karṇāmṛta* were a source of unmixed delight to his admiring audiences.

During his stay in England, as a student of History at Edinburgh, and while studying for the Bar, in London, Gopalakrishnayya collaborated with Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy in the translation of Nandikeśwara's '*Abhinaya Darpana*' in particular and the study of Indian traditional cultures in general.

The story is told of how Gopalakrishnayya, by no means a wealthy man, when hard pressed for funds, used to give alfresco recitals of Harikathā in London, with admission restricted by a small admission fee. The performance was, understandably, in English, with the musical pieces and other quotations in Sanskrit and Telugu. The response from English friends and academic contemporaries was beyond all expectation.

English being the language of the intellectual elite all over the country, it could be a handy and effective medium of communication for putting across the message to audiences whose mother-tongues might be different.

In reply to this, the lecturer (Brahma Sri T. S. Balakrishna Sastrigal), not only commended the suggestion on the use of English, but mentioned how he himself has been using English to advantage for his performances in places outside Tamil Nadu, like Bangalore, Hyderabad and Bombay, where the appeal was overwhelming.

The Chairman in conclusion thanked the Lecturer, participants and the audience.

V

REPORT OF SEMINARS

In commemoration of Mahākavi Bhārathiār Centenary Celebration this year, the Institute of Traditional Cultures held a symposium at 4 P.M. on Thursday, the 26th August 1982 in the Centenary Buildings, University of Madras. Dr. G. Rajavelu, Director, Traditional Tamil Arts, Government of Tamil Nadu presided and Dr. M. Santappa, Vice Chancellor, University of Madras inaugurated the Celebration. An audience of about 50 persons was present. The proceedings of the Symposium are given below.

The Celebration started with prayer by the students of the Music Department, University of Madras. The Director of the Institute requested Thiru G. Rajavelu to preside over the Celebration and Dr. M. Santappa, Vice Chancellor to inaugurate the Celebration.

Dr. M. Santappa in his inaugural address spoke:

It is but appropriate that the Institute of Traditional Cultures should celebrate the Birth Centenary of this great patriot and man of letters who typifies in himself all that is best in Indian culture. We all know that in spite of the vicissitudes of political life in India, of changes of dynasties and territories, India has preserved its cultural unity. If we look at the cultural situation in India we will find that though the pattern of unity in diversity has by and large been preserved now and then the ground colour of unity grew dimmer and the superficial colours of diversity became more pronounced. The age in which poet Subramania Bharati was born was one such period.

Mahākavi Subrahmaṇya Bhārati represents the urges of Renaissance India. He came on the scene when India was struggling to free herself from the clutches of foreign domination,

He saw India disunited, her spirit drooped and vitality sapped, when politicians were waging a political battle by satyagraha and other means. Bhārati used his pen and was creating a silent revolution in the minds of people. The people were aroused from their slumbers.

In Bhārati we find the meeting ground of two forces: one breathes the atmosphere of respect for tradition and the other a revolt against the past customs and manners that are out of date. He was on the threshold of a new era. He thus combined in himself what is worthwhile in the ancient traditions and wisdom and the modern progressive ideas that are the need of the hour in the history of a Nation that was seeking to liberate itself.

Bhārati was an admirer of Rabindranath Tagore. He translated eight of his short stories in Tamil and introduced Tagore to Tamil Nad. Like Tagore, Bharati, was a staunch Nationalist but his Nationalism was not of the narrow type. He also sympathised with the suffering nations abroad and was elated when the Soviet people obtained liberation from the despotic Czardom.

His admiration for Va.Ve.Su Iyer and Aurobindo in the South was matched with his admiration for Tilak, Dadabai Navrozi and Gandhiji in the north. This is in keeping with his instinctive all India outlook. His love of Tamil Nad and Tamil language went hand in hand with love of Bhārat.

His adoration of Tamil poets like Vaḷḷuvar, Iḷaṅgō and Kamban went hand in hand with his appreciation of English and American poets like Shelley and Whitman. It is stated that he founded a Shelleyan guild and used to teach the members of the Guild Shelley's poem. It was Shelley's revolutionary ardour and championship of women that seem to have attracted Bhārati's attention. His poem "The New Russia", it is held, owes its inspiration to Shelley's Ode to Liberty.

Three American writers seem to have influenced Bhārati in certain respects – Emerson, Thoreau and Whitman. Whitman

expresses his immense faith in the concept of equality which embraces all objects both animate and inanimate, rational and non-rational. Here are the lines from Whitman :-

> I am of old and young, of the foolish as much as the wise.........
>
> I find I incorporate gneiss, coal, long threaded moss, fruits, grains esculent roots.
>
> And I am stucco'd with quadrupeds and birds all over.........

Bhārati sings in a similar strain,

> 'I am the birds that fly in the sky; I am the beasts that wander on earth! I am the trees that grow in the shade of the glade. I am Wind, Stream and Sea.

Universality of love is a great spiritual force in Whitman's democracy. Bhārati sings the song of Love in his poem "Murasu" (Drum). Bhārati visualises the aquatic sport of boating on the River Indus in a lyrical piece in which the Tamil girls together with their Kerala connterparts are to render songs in sweet Telugu.

Though he was impressed by the achievements of the west he was not for a non-critical acceptance of whatever emanates from the West. For example, he said that it was not necessary for them to take children out of the care of the family and to entrust their education to the State. But he said, 'it is very imperative that we accept the fundamental social principle that there is absolutely no difference between man and woman.' As a man noted for his courage of conviction he went to the extent of proclaiming that the widows must have the liberty to remarry the man they choose, without restrictions of caste or sect.

During his sojourn in Benares he gained new impressions. It was there that he first witnessed the evil of the caste system and drank deep the Sanskritic culture. At the same time he mingled with all classes of people. After his return to Tirun-

elveli he took to the study of Shelley, Byron and Keats. He got interested in religions, social and political problems of the day. He travelled in the southern districts of Tamil Nad and got to know the strength and weakness of Tamil society.

He was inspired by Bankim Chandra's 'Vande Mātaram' song and sang the glory of Mother India whose children as he envisaged knew no distinction of high or low.

He condemned the caste system in unmistakable terms:

'Religion and caste can't divide us:

Once born in Bhārat,
Be they of the priest class or any other,
All are children of the mother.'

Bharati's religious ecleticism is a sort of pantheistic monism with some emphasis on certain aspects of Śakti. It is also coloured by social feeling. He appeals to mankind with great warmth and force for fraternity among nations, equality between men and women, amity between sections and classes of people.

Bhārati as a man is not content with mere acquisition of knowledge. That knowledge must be applied to the needs of society. One must have a strong will to translate knowledge into action. For him there is no use for an ideal that is not put into action. Profession and practice must go hand in hand.

He wanted people to shed their gloom and function with vigour to usher in a New India of egalitarian society. 'He gave his brethren the vision without which a people perish and the will without which a vision is but an idle dream'.

Then Thiru G. Rajavelu delivered his presidential address on "Bharathi and Nationalism as follows.:

"I do love my Country's good with a respect more tender, more holy and profound than my own life".

Thus speaks the newly awakened spirit of England through her mighty bard Shakespeare who lived and flourished at the dawn of nationalism in the west. The words, nationalism and patriotism are close to each other in meaning.

The origin of nationalism can be traced to 18th Century mainly due to three reasons. The American war of independence, the French revolution and finally the Industrial revolution of the west particularly of England. The first is a struggle for independence and self-rule. The American colonists considered their land a nation and waged a war against their own people to achieve complete independence. The second was the fore-runner or the harbinger of all proletarian revolutions which had rocked the entire world and shocked the kings and bourgeois of the west and east. Liberty, equality and fraternity were their watch words. Like a magic spell, these slogans worked wonders. The tyrannical monarchy and the cruel lords who suppressed the poor were guillotined without any remorse or regret. The age old tyranny came to a deserving end and the poor became aware of their due place in the Government.

As the evening bud blossoms into a sweet scented flower in the morning, the industrial revolution changed the face of the political economic and social spheres of the west. England was the major beneficiary of this change. The English conquered the land and sea and broke the overlordship of Spain and France. Every Briton, sang with a sense of pride "Britannia, Britannia rules the waves". This song became a nursery rhyme in due course and had metamorphosed the entire nation. The fleet of England conquered many countries. India was one among the victims. Thus we see the evil paradox of the noble spirit degenerating itself into an ignominable spirit. The spirit of nationalism in England grew like a merciless monster subjugating and devouring the spirit of the other nations.

The victorious England strangled the life of its colonies, exploited their resources and destroyed their occupations. The colonies groaned under the mountainous weight of their new

imperialism. By efflux of time the subjugated people forgot not only their tradition but also their self respect.

Though the Indian National Congress was organised in the year 1885, it remained a petitioning institution till the end of the 1st World War. Lokamanya Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi appeared on the horizon like the guiding stars which led the wise men of the east to the birth place of Christ.

Poet Subramania Bhārati came under the direct influence of Tilak who made the Congress a fighting organisation. Similar to a raging fire which consumes the dead logs effortlessly, Tilak eliminated the reactionaries and petition mongers from the Congress. Bhārati's burning patriotism dauntlessly supported Tilak, V. O. Chidambaram Pillai, Subramania Siva and Bhārati joined together and propagated the ideals of Tilak. Bhārati's mighty pen became a deadly weapon to the alien rulers. His patriotic songs awakened the slumbering Tamils and infused in them a sense of courage. His songs made them realise their past glory and unique tradition. "What a fall, my Countrymen", was his key word to inflame their simmering spirits. He instilled courage, in the place of cowardice, self respect in the place of serfdom, and infused a fighting determination to overthrow superstition, casteridden rivalries and above all the foreign yoke under which the people were dying like worms.

Though an admirer and follower of Tilak, it was Bhārati who reckoned in Mahatma Gandhi, the saviour of Indian independence. Mahatma's concept of truth and non-violence appealed to him very much and he visualised the future, by his penetrating poetic sense that only Mahatma, through his non-violent struggle, unparallelled in the history of struggle for independence, could remove the shackles of "Mother India".

Words are inadequate to praise Mahatma but in his inimitable style, he eulogizes him.

How shall I compare you? To whom Compare?
Him who brought the Himalayas herb

To counter the cruel serpentine arrow?
Or him who the thunderer's conceit to curb
Put up a hill as it were an umbrella?
The corrosive ulcer of utter dependence
Careless and endless, you will care now-
with how simple a simple, what magical sense.

He compares Mahatma to Hanumān and Lord Krishna. His veneration for Gandhi knows no bounds.

To propagate the lofty ideals of independence and to train the people against the foreign Government he adopted a highly modern technique followed by Lenin of Soviet Russia.

Lenin, instructed his comrades not to speak of Communism first but to approach the peasants and workers with a praise of their labour and strength of their will which had produced enormous wealth and power to the richer class.

Likewise, Bhārati approached the Tamils, by telling them of their hoary past, heroic valour; of their sweet language and of their inimitable poets like Vaḷḷuvar, Iḷango, Kambar and Avvaiār. This approach had kindled the spirit and removed their sloth.

His love of Tamil language is unique and is on par with the great Sangam poets and latter days Ālvārs and Nāyanmārs.

Of all the languages that we know
There is none as Tamil sweet,
Yet the world's gibe, like ignorant hearts
We lie such in defeat
What use to stay in that name
And live obscurely here
Instead of making that sweet tongue ring
like a bell far off and near.

With equal enthusiasm he advocates for a front and elevated seat for the Tamil poets;

Of all the poets that we know
  We see none to compare
With Kambar, Valluvar, Ilaṅgo
  No boast their, but truth bare
Dumb, deaf and blind we live now
  Listen, let us make it our aim
For our own sake from the house tops
  The greatness of Tamil to proclaim.

(Translated by Prof. P. S. Sundaram).

For many, it may look like a tall claim. But if one studies Kamban, Valluvan and Ilaṅgo along with Homer's Iliad and Virgil's Aeneid I hope he may agree with Bhārathi without an iota of hesitation. Another point we have to bear in mind is, that Bhārati is a multi-linguist coupled with a knowledge of day to day progress both in political, economic and social spheres. Then he proceeds to glorify Tamil Nadu. He says, 'the very word Tamil Nadu is very sweet to hear like the sweetness of honey. This land is our father's property and not any foreigners'! You are the lawful heir of your father-land'.

செந்தமிழ் நாடெனும் போதினிலே இன்பத்
தேன்வந்து பாயுது காதினிலே—எங்கள்
தந்தையர் நாடென்ற பேச்சினிலே ஒரு
சக்தி பிறக்குது மூச்சினிலே.

Our tradition speaks only about the mother land. But here instead of calling the land as our mother land, Bhārati deliberately uses the word father-land thereby driving home the point of acquisition of the paternal wealth by his legal heir.

The ground is now fully cultivated and neatly fit for sowing the seeds of patriotism. Without creating any kind of acrimony he goes further and sings.

வாழிய செந்தமிழ் வாழ்க நற்றமிழர்
வாழிய பாரத மணித்திரு நாடு

The integration of India is thus gradually achieved by Bhārathi by adopting a careful method. His praising of Tamil language and Tamil Nadu does not give room for any chauvinistic policy. Like a rope dancer, he skilfully keeps the balance and achieves the final goal of the unity of the country or the integration of the various states. Unfortunately later day congress men forgot this cardinal principle.

His advocacy for political freedom is not emotional or superficial. Freedom to him is not a transfer of power from the whites to the Black-highborns. In his liberated land there is no poor, no slaves. Everyone is a king carrying his noble occupation majestically and dutifully.

Of Poor and slave no more
    Talk shall be
This land shall cease to have
    Man of low degree.
Knowledge and wealth we shall get
    And joyous in mind
All men united shall live Equality kind.

Fear is the root cause of all human sufferings. Bharathi explains to the public that Government is not a frightful monster. It is run by the revenue collected from the people. Without knowing this simple fact people tremble at the very sound of the word 'Government' as if they have seen a ghost.

(ஜனம்) தந்த பொருளைக் கொண்டே
ஜகம் தாக்குவர் உலகத்தில் அரசரெல்லாம்
அந்த அரசியலை இவர் அஞ்சுதிரு பேயென்றெண்ணி
நெஞ்சம் அயர்வார்.

'His tirade against fear is unique. "No fear, No fear and there is no such thing as fear. Even if the entire world stands against us, there is no fear.'

During the days of freedom struggle songs like this were chanted by all the patriots. It is said that a lion thunders before attacking his enemies for two reasons. One is to muster

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its strength and the other to unnerve the opponent. Bharathi's patriotic songs did these two things in those days. We should not forget that it was the patriots who sang his songs and spread his message of independence. No poet in India has sung so many songs in praise of freedom of the Motherland including our world renowned poet Tagore.

His concept of Government is neither monarchy nor autocracy. Even a superficial reader can understand that he stands for a socialistic Government. The only thing that he abhors in the Russian revolution is its violence. He prefers a non-violent struggle to a bloody revolution. Whether this is possible or not is left to the decision of the political parties.

He says, if any individual has no food to eat, then the world is fit to be destroyed.

> A new law will we make
>   And ever keep
> If a single man goes without food
>   All earth this outrage shall make good
> Or fall in one sweep

He further elaborates this point in his Chorus of freedom.

> Workers and peasants
>   We will hail;
> At idlers and glitters
>   We will rail;
> No more shall we die
>   Ploughing the sands
> Or wear out our limbs
>   On absentees' lands.

Bhārathi drew his inspiration for his first quoted song from Valluvar.

The sage says,

> இரந்தும் உயிர் வாழ்தல் வேண்டின்
> பரந்து கெடுக உலகி யற்றியான.

Both Bhārathi and Vaḷḷuvar do not mean verbally to destroy the world when there is no food for an individual or when a man goes on begging for his very existence.

Nature is all mercy and bountiful. There is enough food for the teeming millions of this world. But then, one may ask why is this scarcity? Bhārathi gives the answer

உழவுக்கும் தொழிலுக்கும் வந்தனை செய்வோம்

This means that everybody should work and contribute to the society.

உண்டு களித்திருப்போரை நிந்தனை செய்வோம்

This suggests the abolition of land hoarding or possessing any rich without doing any work.

In God's creation everyone is equal. He does not create any difference among men. Then, how can we say that God has destined a person to beg and another to thrive? Certainly it is not the will of God. Then how does this predicament prevail? Vaḷḷuvar replies in one of his couplets:

இலமென்று அசைஇ இருப்பாரைக் காணில்
நிலமென்னும் நல்லாள நகும்.

The good damsel, the mother earth will laugh at an idler who fritters away his time and energy by saying "I have nothing to eat."

There is plenty to eat at the bowels of nature. One has to labour and produce and also see that he is not exploited. It is neither God's will nor nature's fancy to create any difference among men. It is all the creation of cunning men.

Bhārathi knowing fully well about the law of nature advocates socialism to abolish poverty and want. His praise of Russian revolution is a fitting testimony to his bias towards socialism.

Every inch poet Bharathi is a revolutionary. By dint of his "Poetic Fancy" he wants to mitigate the sorrows of the poor and suppressed.

எந்தன் பாட்டுத் திறத்தாலே இவ்வையகத்தைப்
பாலித்திட வேணும்.

By the strength of my poetry let me protect and sustain this world. Such is his noble desire'. It is really sacred and praiseworthy.

As a sour mango ripens into a sweet fruit, his patriotism slowly gives way to Universal brother-hood.

Bhārathi lived upto 39 years on this sacred soil. During his short span of life he achieved many things for which any man requires a generation. First and foremost he is a patriot, a social reformer, a crusader against untouchability and slavery of women. His contributions to the cause of freedom and later on to the reconstruction of a new India is really great and abundant.

"The Poet's eye in a fine frenzy rolling, doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven, and as imagination bodies forth the forms of things unknown, the poet's pen turns them to shapes, and gives airy nothing a local habitation and a name."

Shakespeare defines a poet by these words. It is not any exaggeration if we say that Bhārathi lived up to this maxim of Shakespeare by his poetic gift and imaginative fervour.

Dr. C. Balasubramanian: The place of Bhārati in the history of the twentieth Century Tamil Literature is so great that present century has come to be called as Bharati's Century. His contemporary poets, viz., Kavimaṇi Dēsikavināyakam Pillai, Nāmakkal V. Rāmalingam Pillai and Bhāratidasan had high regard to Bhārati. Bhāratidāsan's original name was Subburattinam. He changed his name as Bharatidasan because of his regard for Bharati. Kavimaṇi's regard for Bhārati is well revealed in the following lines of his:

பாட்டுக்கொரு புலவன் பாரதியடா
அவன் பாட்டைப் பண்ணொடு பாடினானேயடா
அதைக் கேட்டுக் கிறுகிறுத்துப் போனேனேயடா
அந்தக் கிறுக்கில் உளறும்மொழிப் பொறுப்பாயேயடா

Similarly Rāmalingam Pillai has also recorded his regard for Bhārati in his works. Thus, Bharati's contemporary poets respected him which testifies to his poetic genius.

In Vināyakar Nānmaṇimālai, Bhārati has clearly expressed that his profession is to write poems and to serve the country through poetry without giving any room for idleness.

நமக்குத் தொழில் கவிதை நாட்டிற் குழைத்தல்
இமைப்பொழுதும் சோரா திருத்தல்;—உமைக்கினிய
மைந்தன் கணநாதன் நங்குடியை வாழ்விப்பான்;
சிந்தையே யிம் மூன்றுஞ் செய்

He did what he said. He served the country until his death through poetry. He never spared time for anything else. The following lines throw light on his principle of life.

தேடிச்சோறு நிதந்தின்று—பல
சின்னஞ்சிறு கதைகள் பேசி—மனம்
வாடித் துன்பமிக வுழன்று—பிறர்
வாடப்பல செயல்கள் செய்து—நரை
கூடிக் கிழப் பருவமெய்தி—கொடுங்
கூற்றுக் கிரையெனப் பின்மாயும்—பல
வேடிக்கை மனிதரைப்போல—நான்
வீழ்வே னென்று நினைத்தாயோ?

Bhārati's poetic genius and patriotism, linguistic as well as national, have led the people to celebrate him even to-day. He reveals his firm love for the Tamil Language in Pappāppāṭṭu meant for children thus:

சொல்லில் உயர்வு தமிழ்ச் சொல்லே—அதைக்
தொழுது படித்திடடி பாப்பா

He also records his love for the language in several verses meant for adults. He condemns those who have no love for the language in the following lines:

பாமரராய், விலங்குகளாய், உலகனைத்தும்
இகழ்ச்சிசொலப் பான்மை கெட்டு
நாமமது தமிழரெனக் கொண்டிங்கு
வாழ்ந்திடுதல் நன்றோ? சொல்வீர்!

He also stresses the need to love the language. He knows several languages, viz., Tamil, English, Hindi, Sanskrit, French, Bengali, Urdu, Arabic, Malayalam and Telugu. This competency has led him to point out that Tamil is sweeter than all the languages he knew.

யாமறிந்த மொழிகளிலே தமிழ்மொழிபோல்
இனிதாவ தெங்கும் காணோம்

His aim has been to inculcate interest and love for the language in the Tamil mass which is evident in the following stanza:

யாமறிந்த புலவரிலே கம்பனைப்போல்
வள்ளுவர்போல் இளங்கோ வைப்போல்
பூமிதனில் யாங்கணுமே பிறந்ததில்லை
உண்மை, வெறும் புகழ்ச்சியில்லை
ஊமையராய்ச் செவிடர்களாய்க் குருடர்களாய்
வாழ்கின்றோம்; ஒருசொற் கேளீர்
சேமமுற வேண்டுமெனில் தெருவெல்லாம்
தமிழ்முழக்கம் செழிக்கச் செய்வீர்

His love for the language is so great that it cannot at all be measured. He equates the eternal bliss to the aesthetic pleasure of the Tamil words.

உள்ளத்தில் உண்மையொளி யுண்டாயின்
வாக்கினிலே ஒளியுண் டாகும்
வெள்ளத்தின் பெருக்கைப்போற் கலைப்பெருக்கும்
கவிப்பெருக்கும் மேவு மாயின்
பள்ளத்தில் வீழ்ந்திருக்கும் குருடரெலாம்
விழிபெற்றுப் பதவி கொள்வார்;
தெள்ளுற்ற தமிழமுதின் சுவைகண்டார்
இங்கமரர் சிறப்புக் கண்டார்

He considers the Tamil race as one which is perennial and according to him it is so only because of the possession of the Tamil Language.

> சிலப்பதி காரச் செய்யுளைக் கருதியும்
> திருக்குற ளுறுதியும் தெளிவும் பொருளின்
> ஆழமும் விரிவு மழகுங் கருதியும்
> எல்லையொன் றின்மை யெனும் பொருளதனைக்
> கம்பன் குறிகளாற் காட்டிட முயலு
> முயற்சியைக் கருதியும் முன்புநான் தமிழ்ச்
> சாதியை யமரத் தன்மைவாய்ந் ததுவென்
> றுறுதிகொண் டிருந்தேன். ஒரு பதினாயிரஞ்
> சனிவாய்ப்பட்டுத் தமிழ்ச்சாதிதான்
> உள்ளுடைவின்றி யுழைத்திடு நெறிகளைக்
> கண்டென துள்ளங் கலங்கிடா திருந்தேன்

The same idea is also echoed in another poem entitled *Tamiḻttāy.*

> ஆதிசிவன் பெற்றுவிட்டான்-என்னை
> ஆரிய மைந்தன் அகத்திய னென்றோர்
> வேதியன் கண்டு மகிழ்ந்தே-நிறை
> மேவும் இலக்கணஞ் செய்து கொடுத்தான்
> மூன்று குலத்தமிழ் மன்னர்-என்னை
> மூண்ட நல் லன்பொடு நித்தம் வளர்த்தார்
> ஆன்ற மொழிகளி னுள்ளே-உயர்
> ஆரியத் திற்கு நிகரென வாழ்ந்தேன்
> கள்ளையுந் தீயையுஞ் சேர்த்து-நல்ல
> காற்றையும் வான வெளியையும் சேர்த்துத்
> தெள்ளு தமிழ்ப்புல வோர்கள்-பல
> தீஞ்சுவைக் காவியஞ் செய்து கொடுத்தார்

Thus, Bhārati has expressed his love and attachment for the Tamil Language in several places of his works. During his days, the language did not enjoy the position which it deserves. The poets used the language to compose poems in praise of Zamindars and earned money from them for their livelihood. Also the English language was in power at that time; Bharati too had to undergo training in English because of his father's pressure. He has recorded this pitiable state of his thus:

நெல்லை யூர்சென்றவ் வூணர் கலைத்திறன்
    நேருமாறெனை எந்தை பணித் தனன்
புல்லை யுண்கென வாளரிச் சேயினைப்
    போக்கல் போலவும் ஊன்விலை வாணிகம்
நல்லதென் றொரு பார்ப்பனப் பிள்ளையை
    நாடு விப்பது பேர்லவும் எந்தைதான்
அல்லல் மிக்கதோர் மண்படு கல்வியை
    ஆரி யர்க்கிங் கருவருப் பாவதை
நரியு யிர்ச்சிறு சேவகர் தாதர்கள்
    நாயெ னத்திரி யொற்றர் உணவினைப்
பெரிதெ னக்கொடு தம்முயிர் விற்றிடும்
    பேடி யர்பிறர்க் கிச்சகம் பேசுவோர்
கருதுமிவ் வகை மாக்கள் பயின்றிடுங்
    கலைப யில்கென வென்னை விடுத்தனன்
அருமை மிக்க மயிலைப் பிரிந்து மிவ்
    வற்பர் கல்வியி னெஞ்சு பொருந்துமோ?
....
அன்ன யாவு மறிந்திலர் பாரதத்
    தாங்கி லம்பயில் பள்ளியுட் போகுநர்
முன்ன நாடு திசழ்ந்த பெருமையும்
    மூண்டி ருக்குமிந் நாளி னிசழ்ச்சியும்
பின்னர் நாடுறு பெற்றியுந் தேர்கிலார்
    பேடிக் கல்வி பயின்றுழல் பித்தர்கள்
என்ன கூறிமற் றெங்க ணுணர்த்துவேன்
    இங்கி வர்க்கென துள்ள வெரிவதே!
செலவு தந்தைக்கோ ராயிரஞ் சென்றது
    தீதெனக்குப் பல்லாயிரஞ் சேர்ந்தன
நலமோ ரெட்டுணை யுங்கண்டி லேனிதை
    நாற்ப தாயிரம் கோயிலிற் சொல்லுவேன்

In his opinion, those who read in English school were ignorant of the great poets like Kambar, Iḷango, and Vaḷḷuvar and their works. He also pointed out in one of his articles that there was no response and recognition for true and original works. He also has condemned the craziness of the people for cheap fictions and works translated from English. His observation on the status of Tamil during his age is given below :

"உண்மையான கவிதைக்குத் தமிழ்நாட்டில் தக்க மதிப்பில்லை. இங்கிலிஷ் பாஷையிலிருந்து கதைகளை மொழிபெயர்த்துப் போட்டால் பலர் வாங்கி வாசிக்கிறார்கள். அல்லது இங்கிலீஷ் முறையைத் தழுவி மிகவும் தாழ்ந்த தரத்தில் பலர் புது நாவல்கள் எழுதுகிறார்கள். அவர்களுக்குக் கொஞ்ச லாபமேற்படுகிறது. தமிழில் உண்மையான இலக்கியத் திறமையும் தெய்வ அருளும் பொருந்திய நூல்கள் எழுதுவோர் ஒரு சிலர் தோன்றியிருக்கிறார்கள்; இவர்களுடைய தொழிலை அச்சடிப்பாரில்லை; அச்சிட்டால் வாங்குவாரில்லை. அருமை தெரியாத ஜனங்கள் புதிய வழியில் ஒரு நூலைக் காணும்போது அதில் ரஸமனுபவிக்க வழியில்லை"

—பாரதி நூல்கள் ; கட்டுரைகள், பக்கம் 397,
பாரதி பிரசுராலயம்.

He also pointed out that the then government was also not interested in the promotion of Tamil language. He says:

"தமிழ்நாட்டில் நடைபெறும் ராஜாங்கம் தமிழ்ப் பாஷையில் தேர்ச்சியுடையதன்று. 'தமிழ் முழு நாகரிகமுடையதா, இல்லையா' என்பதைப் பற்றிய சந்தேகங்களுடையது; ஆதலால் தமிழ்ப் படிப்பில்லாமலும், தமிழ் மனமில்லாமலும் ஸந்தோஷமடைந்திருக்கும் இயல்புடையது!

—பாரதி நூல்கள் : கட்டுரைகள், பக்கம், 401.
பரரதி பிரசுராலயம்.

Bhārati speaks through the lips of the Mother Tamil about the state in which the Tamil language was at that time due to various factors such as time, country, government and people's attitude in the following poem:

தந்தை அருள்வலி யாலும் முன்பு
    சான்ற புலவர் தவவலி யாலும்
இந்தக் கணமட்டுங் காலன்-என்னை
    ஏறிட்டுப் பார்க்கவும் அஞ்சியிருந்தான்
இன்றொரு சொல்லினைக் கேட்டேன்!-இனி
    ஏது செய்வேன்? எனதாருயிர் மக்காள்
கொன்றிடல் போலொரு வார்த்தை-இங்கு
    கூறத்தகாதவன் கூறினன் கண்டீர்!

புத்தம் புதிய கலைகள்-பஞ்ச
பூதச் செயல்களின் நுட்பங்கள் கூறும்
மெத்த வளருது மேற்கே-அந்த
மேன்மைக் கலைகள் தமிழினில் இல்லை
சொல்லவுங் கூடுவதில்லை-அவை
சொல்லுந் திறமை தமிழ்மொழிக்கில்லை
மெல்லத் தமிழினிச் சாகும்-அந்த
மேற்குமொழிகள் புவிமிசை யோங்கும்
என்றந்தப் பேதை உரைத்தான்-ஆ!
இந்த வசையெனக் கெய்திடலானே !
சென்றுடுவீ ரெட்டுத் திக்கும்-கலைச்
செல்வங்கள் யாவும் கொணர்ந்திங்கு சேர்ப்பீர்
தந்தை யருள்வலி யாலும்-இன்று
சார்ந்த புலவர் தவவலி யாலும்
இந்தப் பெரும்பழி தீரும்-புகழ்
ஏறிப் புவிமிசை யென்று மிருப்பேன்

From this long poem, one can easily understand the emotions of Bhārati, his love for the language, his grief over the sad state of the language, his appeal to promote the language, and his confidence about the future of the language.

He puts forward a few constructive schemes of which translation is one, for the promotion of the language thus:

பிறநாட்டு நல்லறிஞர் சாத்திரங்கள்
தமிழ்மொழியிற் பெயர்த்தல் வேண்டும்
இறவாத புகழுடைய புதுநூல்கள்
தமிழ்மொழியில் இயற்றல் வேண்டும்
மறைவாக நமக்குள்ளே பழங்கதைகள்
சொல்வதிலோர் மகிமை யில்லை
திறமான புலமையெனில் வெளிநாட்டோர்
அதை வணக்கஞ் செய்தல் வேண்டும்

He emphasises in the Preface of the first edition of Pāñcāli Capatam that poetry must be simple and novel and it should reach even the common men and women.

'எளிய பதங்கள், எளிய நடை, எளிதில் அறிந்துகொள்ளக் கூடிய சந்தம், பொதுஜனங்கள் விரும்பும் மெட்டு இவற்றினை

யுடைய காவியமொன்று தற்காலத்திலே செய்து தருவோன் நமது தாய்மொழிக்குப் புதிய உயிர் தருவோனாகின்றான். ஓரிரண்டு வருஷத்து நூற்பழக்கமுள்ள தமிழ் மக்களெல்லோருக்கும் நன்கு பொருள் விளங்கும்படி எழுதுவதுடன், காவியத்துக்குள்ள நயங்கள் குறைவுபடாமலும் நடத்தல் வேண்டும்."

He has also recorded the same idea in an article as follows:

"யாவருக்கும் எளிதில் புலப்படாத வலிய நடையில் காவியங்கள் எழுதுவதிலே படித்த படிப்பையெல்லாம் செலவிடுவோருக்கு அதிகச் செல்வம் சேர மார்க்கமில்லை என்பது ப்ரத்யக்ஷம். எளிய நடையில் எழுதினால் அச்சுத் தொழிலும் பொது ஜனக் கல்வியும் பரவிவரும் இக்காலத்தில் ஆசிரியர்களுக்கு ஏராளமான லாபம் கிடைக்கும்."

—பாரதி நூல்கள் : கட்டுரைகள் ; பக்கம், 584,
பாரதி பிரசுராலயம்.

He wishes a lasting life for the Tamil language which he loved like anything in the following poem:

வாழ்க நிரந்தரம் வாழ்க தமிழ்மொழி
வாழிய வாழியவே
வான மளந்த தனைத்து மளந்திடு
வண்மொழி வாழியவே
ஏழ்கடல் வைப்பினுந் தன்மணம் வீசி
இசைகொண்டு வாழியவே
எங்கள் தமிழ்மொழி எங்கள் தமிழ்மொழி
என்றென்றும் வாழியவே
சூழ்கலி நீங்கத் தமிழ்மொழி யோங்கத்
துலங்குக வையகமே
தொல்லை வினைதரு தொல்லை யகன்று
சுடர்க தமிழ்நாடே
வாழ்க தமிழ்மொழி வாழ்க தமிழ்மொழி
வாழ்க தமிழ்மொழியே
வானம் அறிந்த தனைத்தும் அறிந்து
வளர்மொழி வாழியவே

To Bharati, nation means India only. He considers the entire world as one family. He considers even the crows and sparrows as his caste and the oceans and hills are his race.

Though his vision was so wide, he never failed to sing in praise of the Tamil land where he was born :

செந்தமிழ் நாடெனும் போதினிலே-இன்பத்
தேன்வந்து பாயுது காதினிலே-எங்கள்
தந்தையர் நாடென்ற பேச்சினிலே-ஒரு
சக்தி பிறக்குது மூச்சினிலே-எங்கள்

He also specifically points out the boundaries of the Tamil Country thus :

நீலத் திரைக்கட லோரத்திலே-நின்று
நித்தம் தவஞ்செய் குமரியெல்லை-வட
மாலவன் குன்றம் இவற்றிடை யேபுகழ்
மண்டிக் கிடக்குந் தமிழ்நாடு

He feels proud of the Tamil land which tops in education and where Kambar, the emperor of poets was born. Hence he sings as follows :

கல்வி சிறந்த தமிழ்நாடு-புகழ்க்
கம்பன் பிறந்த தமிழ்நாடு-நல்ல
பல்வித மாயின சாத்திரத் தின்மணம்
பாரெங்கும் வீசும் தமிழ்நாடு

He also praises the Tamil land that has given Valluvar, the author of Kuraḷ to the world and has produced Cilappatikāram, an epic that attracts the hearts of the readers :

வள்ளுவன் தன்னை உலகினுக்கே தந்து
வான்புகழ் கொண்ட தமிழ்நாடு-நெஞ்சை
அள்ளும் சிலப்பதி காரமென் றோர்மணி
யாரம் படைத்த தமிழ்நாடு

Bharati in one of his poems wishes the Tamil language, the Tamils, and India collectively in one place :

வாழிய செந்தமிழ்! வாழ்க நற்றமிழர்
வாழிய பாரத மணித்திரு நாடு.

He was deeply interested that in this Tamil land there should flourish virtues, happiness, prosperity and good life. May his dreams come true !

BHARATI AND WOMEN

Prof. Prema Pandurangan: A poet is an unacknowledged legislator of the world. He looks at the world from his inspired angle, reacts to the situations with a warm heart and a heightened imagination, feels for the poor and downtrodden, reprimands the unjust and trumpets an era of harmony and peace amidst choas and misrule. All great poets have claims to sensitivity, both in language and thought. But those who are the recipients of grace and the receptacles of god love, their words are charged with a supernatural element and electrified with a heavenly ardour, signifying depths of understanding and heights of wisdom. Such an inspired poet-devotee was Bharathiyār.

The post-independence era cannot claim to have the first hand experience of the thrill of the freedom-struggle. At the most, we can indulge in an euphoric nostalgia for those times and in our sophisticated modern method condescend to quote great master-minds of those times with impetuous tepidity! But think of Bharathiyar in his times. He was a live volcano, a bursting meteor, a storm in himself rousing people out of their stupor and laziness. He was alive to social problems more sensitively than his contemporaries. His concept of woman is noteworthy, laudable and innovative. Today, woman in India enjoys a status far above her counterpart in the Nineteen twenties. Six long decades have made the Indian woman proceed from school to college, from hospitals to computers, from professorships to Prime Ministerships!

To Bharathiyar the woman was not a Kitchen maid or a mere biological counterpart of man, a breeder of children. He attacked in incisive terms this social subordination of women. He upheld the basic individuality of womanhood. He believed and wanted people to believe that woman had a role of her own in society, with her specific qualities like knowledge love of righteous, patience and forgiveness. I believe that these

qualities every Indian understands from the Lord in the Bhagavadgītā.

Kīrti Śrī vāk ca nārīṇām, smṛtir medhā dhṛtiḥ kṣamā

These specific qualities of fame, prosperity, oratory, forbearance, tenacity and memory and knowledge signify the living presence of God in women.

Bhāratiyār's particular perspective is mostly a philosophic one. A person of his wisdom and sensitivity could not look at the surface level of existence. He looked upon woman as a unique creation of God. He almost deified her.

Pudumai Peṇ

"Did the vedas incarnate as the virgin woman?

Or is woman the ambrosia, destroying old age, senility and disease, rejuvenating man!

Those who suppress and enslave such enlightened souls - indeed are they veritable fools."

Woman, according to Bhāratiyār is scripture incarnate, born to warn, command and guide men on the path of righteousness. She is more than a mere spouse or female partner in man's life.

The woman, emancipated and liberated in the wholesome sense of the term has new ideas to place before you - says the poet.

"Harken to the words of this New Woman!
If the world has to enhance the horizon of its wisdom
Let it treat women as equals to men!
Coyness and shyness, leave it to dogs!
Women were born for valourous freedom
Women of high calibre, must they be!
Have you heard the words of goddess woman speak as above!",

The woman is the feminine manifestation of Divinity-Śakti. She is unique and singular in her potentialities. To suppress her or repress her is an unpardonable atrocity.

What is the exalted purpose of womanhood according to Bharatiyār? The brave woman in the brave new world of Bhāratiyār will.

"study various scriptures and master them!
Will achieve valourous deeds numerous!
Will destroy ripe evils of society and
remove gross superstitions beliefs therein.
Protecting human beings and directing them to
God, will make mankind worthy of its creator!
They will live lives earning laurels from all.
They will facilitate the divinising and deifying of men

This concept of womanhood comes closest to Sage Valmīki's in the Rāmāyaṇa. King Janaka offers his daughter, Sītādevi in marriage to Śrī Rāma with the following words:-

iyam sītā mama sutā, sahadharmacarī tava.

The implication of this verse is clear. Whether Śrī Rāma rules in the capital or retires to the forest, his companion in righteousness will unfailingly be Sītā. If the Lord has the power to say

Vibhīṣaṇo vā sugrivo yadi vā Rāvaṇaḥ svayam

Even if it is Rāvaṇa himself who begs shelter of me, I will grant him safety! the devi can also forget and forgive—saying to Hauman.

—There is none that does not err.

This incident reveals how the depiction of Sītādevi as an dea l woman makes her the spiritual counterpart of her consort.

Bhārathiyār did not believe in a crude women's lib. To most of us this movement means a jarring ungracing of the graceful women. Liberation for women does not mean wearing men's clothes, smoking with them, clapping their hands and pushing them off trains or buses. It is not a mere job-hunting alongside men. It is a matter of attitude and outlook. There is a basic charm and grace, a feminine touch about her which the Indian women cannot lose even in the name of proud

modernity. Modernity is an angle of life - it is not an out rageous throwing-aboard of habitual modesty - which has made women love both peace and power!

Woman needs the support and co-operation of man in her fight for liberty. Men stand for courage and initiation. This does not imply any failure on the part of women. They rouse the divine in man and make him a peer of the gods themselves! In a famous chorus song on the liberty and emancipation of women Bharatiyār sings high praises of their superior calibre. Of course their culinary talents are common-place knowledge but they do not confine their influence to the kitchen sink. They create a race of divine men.

"Sādam paḍaikkavum saidiḍuvōm, deiva
sādipadaikkavum seidiḍuvōm."

According to Bhāratiyār, women should work for their own liberation and refuse to be treated as doormats.

The great poet envisages man and woman as the two eyes of society. If they are treated equally, the consequence will be wholseme vision, with no defect in the eyes. Women are endowed with superior knowledge and understanding. If they are looked after well, then society will find itself enhanced and singular.

Peṇṇukku jnānattai vaittān—puvi
pēṇi valarttiḍum Isan;
maṇṇukkuḷḷa sila mūḍar—nall
mādar aṟivai keḍuttān
Kaṇgaḷ irandil onṟai—kutti
kātchi keḍuttiḍa lāmo?

A sensitive and spiritual study of Bhāratiyār's poems reveals the growth and development of the poet's concept of womanhood. He looks upon God Himself as his lady love. In the study of mystics we are aware of the fact that bridal mysticism is a beautiful concept wherein the jīvātmā, the individual soul craves union with the supreme God. We have known of

Rādhā and Mīrā in the north and of Āṇḍāl in the south to whom the Lord was a consort. Bhāratiyār goes a step further and makes the blue-hued boy of Brindāvan, his lady love. The poet pours out his heart and claims attention of Krishṇa for his all absorbing love. Practising the living presence of God is the highest culmination of spiritual endeavours. Bhāratiyār sees Krishṇa everywhere-in the ceaselessly brimming oceans, in the surging waves, in the blue wide sky; even in the very bubbles he sees Lord Krishna's face. A breath taking verse serves to manifest Bhāratiyār's love of Nature - The blue sky and the stars therein are like the lord's garment with silver motifs. The blossoms in gardens are like His gentle smile. The blue ocean seems to reveal the waves of His heart. Bhāratiyār gets charged with God-love. This type of mysticism although rare is very convincing. The devotee out of sheer humility becomes the master of the Lord. The beauty of the Lord, his various exploits all inspire such a love from Bhāratiyar.

The bond between the devotee and the Lord is unbreakable. It is a basic bond, a fundamental bond, a natural bond. As the saying goes the human heart naturally loves and the human mind naturally believes. The Hindu concept of God love traces God-love through several births of a devotee.

Bahūnām janmanām ante jñānavān mām prapadyate.

A few analogies are given to illustrate this bond:

nalluyir nī enakku, nāḍiyaḍi nānunakku
selvamaḍi nī enakku, sēma nidhi nānunakku

Bhāratiyār has a multidimensional personality. His love of freedom for men, more so for women, found its dynamic expression through his verses. He loved the country as a woman, he described the fiery fury of Draupadi, he drove women to freedom, instead of being cabined, cribbed and confined. Bhāratiyar's songs have become a by word for freedom and peace. Almost all children in school learn a few verses of his, even from their childhood. His songs are charged with purity of thought, gentle and kind persuasion, at times lashing

social criticism too. Bharatiyar is a wonderful piece of God's work-sublime in his thought, sensitive in his heart, profound in his soul. His concept of womanhood takes a large scale gamut – from the woman in the kitchen to the woman in freedom fights, from the loving housewife to a spiritual companion and finally the lord Himself, a woman – to love and to be loved.

BHAKTI AND TRADITIONAL CULTURE

Prof. P. Thirugnanasambandan: Mahatma Gandhi has said that every true Indian must have his feet firmly planted on the Indian soil and that he should not allow himself to be swept off his feet by the storm that blows from the industrialised West. Every son of Bharat, he contended, must feel proud of his great heritage and live true to the ideals set forth by his forefathers to the extent they are suitable to the modern age of freedom and equality. One should not decry whatever is ancient simply because it is ancient but examine its validity in the current context and accept such of those things that are conducive to the development of the full personality of every individual as a member of a free and enlightened society.

Bhārati was quite conscious of the great inheritance that an Indian is heir to and glorifies not only the ancient saints and seers, the ancient literature and art but also the architects of modern India as well. He is a bridge between the past and the present, the East and the West.

He conceives India as one Nation with a Pan Indian culture and at the same time he lags behind none in paying a glowing tribute to the culture and learning of Tamil Nad. In his poem 'செந்தமிழ் நாடு' he glorifies in one breath both Tamil Nad and Bhārat'

> செந்தமிழ் நாடெனும் போதினிலே
> இன்பத்தேன் வந்து பாயுது காதினிலே
> எங்கள் தந்தையர் நாடென்ற பேச்சினிலே
> ஒரு சக்தி பிறக்குது மூச்சினிலே

The integrated culture of Tamil Nad is expressed in the words—

வேதம் நிறைந்த தமிழ்நாடு—உயர்வீரம்
செறிந்த தமிழ் நாடு

Students of Tamil literature may know that the ancient Tamil classics highlight love as well as heroism in the Aham and Puram poems, and that the post Sangam religious literature contains references to Vedic Studies.

It has been said of Rāmānuja that he was well versed in both Tamil that consists of Iyal, Isai and Nāṭakam, and the four Vedas in Sanskrit. Appar refers to Lord Śiva as 'ஆரியன் கண்டாய் தமிழன் கண்டாய்' 'These statements typify how Indian culture shows the blend of Aryan and Dravidian beliefs and practices. It is no wonder that Bhārati who came in this tradition refers to Vedas and Tamil classics with intense feeling and a sense of belonging.

In the various songs on Bhārata Nāḍu we find the poet expounding the concept of one nation and the achievement of great savants in different parts of the country. Speaking about Bhārata Mātā he refers to the national heroes of the past like Janaka, the philosopher-statesman, Rāma, the epic hero, Karṇa, the great benefactor, Buddha, the great preacher of non-violence and Krishṇa, the great expositor of Gītā.

Integration, not conflict is the key note of Indian culture. Bhārati emphasises this point in every one of his poems. In his poem 'எங்கள் தாய்' he says, here are the eighteen major languages spoken in India but the thought-content of all of them is one and the same. Bhārati here feels that all the languages spoken in India have an equal status and if this is recognised there is no scope for quarrel over the issue of language.

He observes in his poems that contemporary people in India who were subject to alien influence for over two centuries had lost touch with their cultural moorings and their past achievements. He reminds them that they are the great inheritors of one of the oldest of civilisations. In his poem on Chatrapati Sivāji he observes—

பாரதப் பூமி பழம்பெரும் பூமி !
நீர் அதன்புதல்வர் ; நினைவகற்றாதீர் .

A traditionalist should not be impervious to new ideas. Our cultural history is a standing testimony to the acceptance of innovations. At the same time it nowhere shows complete breakaway from the past. Slow evolutionary process has been the guiding star of progress in our Nation's life.

பழையன கழிதலும் புதியன புகுதலும் வழுவல

is true not only in linguistics in which context it is said, but it applies to every field of human activity, be it politics, social life, religion, philosophy or art. Tolerance and give and take are the hall marks of culture and it is true of the Indian traditional culture as well. Bhārati who is conscious of the great traditions to which he is heir is at the same time quite aware of the need to refashion the society by shedding the dead wood and excrescences in it that had impeded its healthy growth.

Bhārati in his 'Tamil Cāti' presents two types of contemporary approach to Indian tradition; (1) the reactionary traditionalist and (2) the radical ultra modern man. The former clings fast to the past beliefs and practices and would not brook any deviation from them. Bhārati poses a question in this poem to Providence, "Will you show us a fruitful path of living by your Divine Grace so that the community may continue to flourish making suitable changes to suit the changing circumstances as the wheel of time turns, without altering the basic character of the people and without impairing Dharma?" Providence answers – or rather Bhārati avers – 'the Tamil people can survive provided they steer clear of the aforesaid two extremes and choose to accept whatever good and whatever knowledge are made available from whichever quarter and from whomsoever it be'. As Tiruvaḷḷuvar says—

எப்பொருள் யார்யார் வாய்க் கேட்பினும்
அப்பொருள் மெய்ப்பொருள் காண்பதறிவு

'Those good things and knowledge must be adapted to our own. Then there is no fear of the fall of the Tamil people.'

The need for observance of Dharma or the right ethical code in every facet of life has always been stressed in our country. Vide

அறன் எனப்பட்டதே இல்வாழ்க்கை (Kuraḷ)

Bhārati has unshakeable faith in our Dharma. He puts his ideas in the mouth of Arjuna in Pānchāli Sapatam:

"Dharma is often defeated by deceipt,
But Dharma shall triumph in the end
We are instruments in the hands of fate
To illustrate that this is so
We shall know our duty by and by -
Today we're bound, let's bear it with patience
Times must change, and Dharma must triumph;
And there's my mighty bow Gāṇḍīva! (Trans. by
Prema Nandakumar)

Though our countrymen emphasise the primacy of Dharma among the triad, aṛam, poruḷ, and inbam they did not overlook the need for poruḷ and inbam in the life of an average man. It is laid down that acquisition of wealth and its enjoyment should be within the bounds of ethical code. Bhārati who set great store by Dharma was quite optimistic that our country reduced to penury by foreign rulers should become rich and the people enabled to enjoy a prosperous life. He reminds us in one of his poems of the saying of Thiruvaḷḷuvar thus:

பொருளிலார்க்கிலை இவ்வுலகு என்ற நம்புலவர் தம்மொழி
பொய்ம் மொழியன்று காண்.

Bhārati's deep respect for tradition and regard for our ancient scriptures and classics are well known, as set forth in the lines

எந்தையும் தாயும் மகிழ்ந்து குலாவியிருந்ததுமிந்நாடே
அதன் முந்தையர் ஆயிரமாயிரம் ஆண்டுகள் வாழ்ந்து முடிந்தது
மிந்நாடே

அவர் சிந்தையிலாயிர மெண்ணம் வளர்ந்து சிறந்ததுமிந்நாடே
இதை வந்தனை கூறி மனதிலிருத்தி என்வாயுற வாழ்த்தேனோ
(நாட்டு வணக்கம்)

He adapts the sayings of ancient seers and poets in the words that truly echo them. The Vedic utterance 'Satyam Vada, Dharmam cara (Taittirīya Upaniṣad) finds its echo in

பேசுகவே சத்தியமே செய்க தருமமே

In fact he has translated some Vedic hymns and wrote a commentary in Tamil thereon. The verse of the Tamil poet

சாதி இரண்டொழிய வேறில்லை சாற்றுங்கால்

is adapted by our poet in the lines—

சாதி இரண்டொழிய வேறில்லை யென்றே
தமிழ் மகள் சொல்லிய சொல் அமிழ்த மென்போம்
நீதிநெறியினின்று பிறர்க்குதவும்
நேர்மையர் மேலவர், கீழவர் மற்றோர்.

Krishna said in the Gītā 'Sarva Bhūtastham Ātmanam' (vi–29) and Bhārati quotes it—

எல்லா உயிர்களிலும் நானே இருக்கிறேன்
என்றுரைத்தான் கண்ணன் பெருமான்

and adds with legitimate pride that India has something highly valuable to offer to the world viz. immortality for all—

எல்லாரும் அமரநிலை யெய்துநன்முறையை இந்தியா
உலகிற்களிக்கும் —(பாரத சமுதாயம், 3)

He pays his tributes to St. Thāyumānavar of Tamil Nad and Abhedanandaswāmi of Rāmakrishṇa Order. The two savants though separated by time and space are united in the metaphysical thought of the One Truth that inheres in all beings. Bhārati says with reference to St. Thāyumānavar

'ஒன்று பொருள் அஃதின்பம் என உணர்ந்தாய்'

and with reference to Abhedānanda

'ஒன்றே மெய்ப்பொருளாகும் உயிர்களெலாம் அதன் வடிவாம்'

In the same way he pays his tributes to the great sons of India in the different regions of Bhārat, such as Guru Govind

Singh, Dadebhai Navrozi, Bāla Gangādhara Tilak, Gāndhiji, V. O. Chidambaraṇār, U. V. Swāminātha Ayyar, Ravi Varma etc. who had distinguished themselves in diverse fields such as politics, religion, arts, literature etc.

Bhārati utilises his knowledge of the ancient classics to drive home contemporary phenomena. In Pāñchali Sapatam the poet suggests how the enslaved India was humiliated and deprived of her rights by the British rulers as Duryodhana in the great Epic humiliated the Pāṇḍavas by insulting Pāñcāli in an assembly of elders in the grossest manner.

In his '*Svacharitai*' he indicts the products of lopsided English educational system that was in vogue in his time and says how those who had their education in the modern English schools were totally ignorant about the great scholars and poets such as Iḷaṅgō, Kamban and Kālidāsa, astronomer Bhāskara, the great grammarian, Pāṇini, the philosopher Śaṅkara and great rulers like Asoka, the Pāṇḍyas and Chōḷas and the hero, Sivāji. Though he derided English educational system he was an admirer of English poets like Shelley, Keats and Whitman.

Bharati became aware of the bane of casteism during the years he lived at Benares. He held that there may be diverse castes and religions in our land but no one should be discriminated against on grounds of his or her caste or religion. Everyone is equal before the law of the land, says Bhārati, following the lead of Tirumūlar 'ஒன்றே குலம்'. He declares unequivocally—

> எல்லாரு மோர் குலம் எல்லாரு மோரினம்
> எல்லாரு மிந்தியா மக்கள்
> எல்லாரு மோர் நிறை எல்லாரு மோர்விலை
> எல்லாரு மிந்நாட்டு மன்னர் (பாரத சமுதாயம், 4)

and made a clarion call for equality and fraternity among his countrymen.

Steeped as he was in the religion of 'Love' (அன்பே சிவம்) his love flowed beyond the confines of India even to distant corners of the globe such as Belgium and Fiji islands, in fact, wherever freedom was denied to the people. It was this broad humanism in Bharati, the truly religious man - religion that means literally the binding force of humanity - which made him

welcome the Great Revolution in Russia and offer homage to the patriot, Mazzini of Italy. Like Tagore he was an internationalist in the depth of his soul. As another great poet of our land Sarojini Devi says, 'He is entitled by his genius and his works to rank among those who have transcended all limitations of race, language and continent and have become universal possession of mankind.'

Bharati is a champion of women. He would not suffer the humiliation and bondage of women who constitute one half of the human population. He recalls in his song 'Peṇ Viḍuthalai',

உடையவள் சக்தி ஆண்பெண் இரண்டும்
ஒருநிகர் செய்து உரிமை சமைத்தாள்
இடையிலே பட்ட கீழ் நிலை கண்டீர்
இதற்கு நாம் ஒருப்பட்டிருப் போமோ? (P. 498)

He draws our attention to the fact that women like Maitreyi and Avvaiyār were held in high esteem in the ancient period as poets and philosophers but were subjugated in the medieval period. He therefore said that modern women must be given equal status with men and restored to their ancient glory.

Bhārati visualises the future Indian community as free from want and fear, bold and adventurous in his song.

ஒளிபடைத்த கண்ணினாய் வா! வா! வா!

He welcomes the rising generation of New Bhārat which, he hopes will restore the glory of the past Indian tradition represented by heroes like Arjuna and others and adapt themselves to the new urges of modern times.

களையிழந்த நாட்டிலே—முன்போலே
கலை சிறக்க வந்தனை
விளையும் மாண்பு யாவையும்—பார்த்தன்போல்
விழியினால் விளக்குவாய்

(வருகின்ற பாரதத்தை வாழ்த்தல், 3)

He looks forward to the emergence of a new generation with robust optimism and to a new era of all round progress in India by providing purposeful education that includes technology based on our true National culture.

மந்திரம் கற்போம் வினைத் தந்திரங் கற்போம்...
காவியம் செய்வோம் நல்ல காடு வளர்ப்போம்
கலை வளர்ப்போம் கொல்லர் உலை வளர்ப்போம்
உலகத்தொழிலனைத்தும் உவந்து செய்வோம்.

NEWS AND NOTES

1. Social Science Documentation Centre (Indian Council of Social Science Research), No. 35, Ferozsh, New Delhi have indexed our Bulletin of the Institute of Traditional Cultures from Vol. 1 (1957) 14 (1970). Full bibliographical information of the indexed articles is provided under subject (s) and author (s) and the index is maintained at present on cards for consultation in the Social Science Documentation Centre.

2. Extract from pages 301–302 of the Book 'Religious Festivals in South India and Sri Lanka' Ed. by Guy R. Welbon and Glenn E. Yocum.

At Kataragama Hindu and Buddhist shrines exist side by side. This phenomenon is not unusual since many Buddhist temples throughout the country have Hindu *dēvālē-s* connected with them. In the same compound are found temples to Gaṇeśa, Viṣṇu, and three other Hindu deities as well as two Bo trees sacred to the Buddhists. Other holy sites include a shrine to Devayānī, a mosque, a buddhist cloister, shrines to Hindu and Muslim holy men, and a temple to Vaḷḷi Ammā. The *Āsaḷa* (July-August) *Perahāra* is the most sacred time at Kataragama. People from all over the island and also from India attend the *Perahāra*. Hindus, Buddhists, Muslims and even some Christians participate in it.

3. Extract from pages 81–82 of the Book 'Indonesia at a Glance", Department of Information, Republic of Indonesia.

"Although the majority of the Indonesian people are adherents of the Islamic faith, the religious life of followers of the Protestant, Roman Catholics, Hindu, Buddha, and Kong Hu Cu faiths is also protected. Each is free to worship according to the tenets of his own religion. Amongst the

various communities it is harmony and not mutual antagonism which is cultivated.

During the second Five-Year Development Plan (1974/1975-1978/1979). Government assistance increased annually to cover 1,048 mosques, 63 Protestant churches, 60 Roman Catholic churches, 43 Hindu temples and 9 Buddhist temples.

Things to Ponder

4. Extract from 'South - East Asia - Race, Culture and nation by Guy Hunter: (pp. 164-165):

"In this movement towards 'the modern culture of the common man', I would disagree profoundly with the proposition, either that 'traditional culture can take care of itself' or that it must at once be based 'on scientific truth as against religious faith'. While seientific truth is growing, while vast and sudden changes are happening in traditional life, the shelter of a higher religion will be more anxiously needed than ever...its alternative is the fatal and bloody religion of political power Nor will traditional culture look after itself. There will be, for sure, violent secularist movements in Asian politics, both attacks on the 'establishment' where, as in Malaya, it has a religious basis, and attacks on superstition as an impediment to economic growth. But if, in the immense strains of social and economic transformation which lie before Asia in the next decades, the continuity of a cultural refuge and restraint is deliberately broken, a disintegration of society, with appalling consequences, could follow."

Influence of Hindu Culture

5. Extract from p. 132 of Vivekananda Kendra Patrika, Volume 9, Number 1, February 1980: Theme: Imprints of Indian Thought and Culture Abroad:

"Hindu Culture has left a deep mark on Siam. The whole countryside is dotted with ruins of ancient Indian architecture. The fine curves and the lofty style of these edifices - mostly

temples or palaces – the wonderful carved figures of gods and goddesses from Indian mythology, other handiwork and the chiselling in general speak of Hindu culture. The names of almost all cities of Siam are of Sanskrit origin. Thus we have Rajpuri, Ayodhya, Nakhon Pathom (Nagar Pratham) Nathan Shree Tararat (Nagar Shree Dharmaraj) and the like. In many cases these names of pure Sanskrit derivation have been badly twisted out of shape and disfigured due to neglected pronunciation, as will be apparent from some of the instances quoted above.

The Pagodas, Buddha images and stone figures there show how great was the influence of Hindu culture in Siam. Imposing statues of Lord Buddha form important land-marks all over Siam. Here as in China, the figure of Lord Buddha has not undergone a metamorphosis along the lines of Chinese anatomy. It has distinct Indian features. The image is seated on the huge lotus pedestal and is dressed in Hindu costume, showing the unbroken influence of Hindu culture over Siam – Chaman Lal."

OBITUARY

Jean FILLIOZAT
(1906–1982)

We deeply regret the demise of Jean Filliozat the great Indologist who rendered distinguished service in promoting better understanding between the East and the West.

Born in Paris in 1906, Professor Jean Filliozat made his medical studies according to family tradition and at the same time entered the field of indian studies. The first ended in a Doctorate in medicine on ophthalmology (1930) and he wrote also a treatise on strasbismus (1932) which has been translated into English and which is an authority on the subject up to-day. This study of medicine was a main asset in his further researches which were to deal often with Indian Medicine.

Regarding Indian studies, he attended the courses of wel known professors Sylvain Levy for the sanskrit and Jules Bloch for the Tamil ; He also studied Tibetan language and Indian scripts and had a special interest for manuscripts. The mere title of his first book on indology ("Study on Indian Demonology - Kumara Tantra of Ravana and parallel texts in Indian, Tibetan, China, Cambodia, and Arabic languages") shows the wide range of his approach of research.

He was sometime attached to the National Library in Paris where he published in 1941 the 1st volume of the Catalogue of sanskrit manuscripts. In 1941 he became professor of Indian Philology at the School for higher studies (Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes). His thesis for Doctorate in Letters published in 1949, "The Classical doctrine of Indian Medicine" (translated into English in 1964) is the fruitful result of his classical, medical and indological formation. At the same time he collaborated with Prof. Renou in the great publication "L'Inde classique" (Manual of Indian Studies)

In 1952 he was elected as professor at the prestigious College de France where he occupied the chair for Indian Languages and Literatures. He took the direction of French School for Far-Eastern Studies (Ecole Francaise d' Extreme Orient) in 1954 and, in 1955, established the French Institute at Pondicherry as per the agreement signed both by France and India. Both directions he held up to his retirement in 1977, favouring systematically during his long tenure new approaches towards research studies such as, for example, ecology in South-East Asia and in India.

His scientific interest can be seen from such articles as the one dealing with Taoism and Yoga (1969) or his numerous contributions to the study of South-East Asian civilisations. However his main personal interest was for India about which his research fields were unlimited.

Elected to the Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres in 1966 he played an important role in international academic bodies and more particularly in International Association for Tamil Research (IATR) and International Association for Sanskrit Studies (IASS) and he was mainly responsible for the creation of these two bodies.

His last publication deals with Yogasataka (medical text with sanskrit and Tibetan versions), Pliny on India and Far East, historical ecology of South India and Devaraja Cult in Cambodia; they are very good testimonies of the wideness of the field of his own researches as well as of the researches he was directing his students.